

ÜBERSETZUNGSKULTUREN DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT

BAND 3

Antje Flüchter / Andreas Gipper /
Susanne Greilich / Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Hg.)

Übersetzungspolitiken in der
Frühen Neuzeit / Translation Policy
and the Politics of Translation in the
Early Modern Period

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J.B. METZLER


Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit

Band 3

Reihe herausgegeben von

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Ziel der Reihe des gleichnamigen DFG-Schwerpunktprogramms ist die interdisziplinäre Erschließung der epochalen Bedeutung von Konzepten und Praktiken des Übersetzens als zentrale und ubiquitäre Kulturtechnik der Frühen Neuzeit. Die global ausgerichtete Reihe bringt unterschiedlichste Arbeiten zu gesellschaftlichen Leitvorstellungen, Wahrnehmungsmustern, Medien und Kommunikationsformen, die seit dem 15. Jh. durch Praktiken des Übersetzens etabliert werden und bis in die Gegenwart von prägender Bedeutung sind. Diese Auseinandersetzung mit den Problemen, Chancen und Konsequenzen verschiedener Formen des Übersetzens in einer frühen Phase der Globalisierung soll im Rückgriff auf den aktuellen *translational turn* eine Neuorientierung der Kulturwissenschaften ermöglichen.

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Übersetzungspolitiken in der Frühen Neuzeit / Translation Policy and the Politics of Translation in the Early Modern Period

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Die Reihe wird herausgegeben vom Programmausschuss des SPP 2130 ‚Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit (1450–1800)‘ / The series is edited by the Programme Committee of the SPP 2130 ‘Early Modern Translation Cultures (1450–1800)’



ISSN 2661-8109

ISSN 2661-8117 (electronic)

Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit

ISBN 978-3-662-67338-6

ISBN 978-3-662-67339-3 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-67339-3>

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft

Gefördert durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) – SPP 2130

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Einbandabbildung: Logo des DFG-Schwerpunktprogramms: Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit

Planung/Lektorat: Oliver Schütze

J.B. Metzler ist ein Imprint der eingetragenen Gesellschaft Springer-Verlag GmbH, DE und ist ein Teil von Springer Nature.

Die Anschrift der Gesellschaft ist: Heidelberger Platz 3, 14197 Berlin, Germany

Foreword

This volume, presenting the results of the 2nd annual conference of the German Research Foundation Priority Programme 2130: 'Early Modern Translation Cultures', considers the question of why certain texts, images, sign complexes, et cetera undergo translation while others remain, and indeed must remain, untranslated. And what factors influence the specific form – that is, the actual translation process from one semiotic and cultural system to another? In this context, a twofold understanding of politics comes to bear. On the one hand, the focus is on translation politics in the sense of translation policy, and with it the socio-cultural, economic, and intercultural influencing factors. On the other hand, and more specifically, the concern is with translations in the context of political negotiation processes and thus with the relationship between politics and translations. From the heuristic perspective, three aspects of the political appear to be of central importance here: the cultural norms and criteria that decide what is translated at all (cultural filters), the political, religious, or economic interests connected with translations (calculation), and finally the significance of translations for all forms of interaction in the political sphere in the narrower sense (diplomacy).

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Kapitel 1

Translation Policy und Politics of Translation. Einführende Überlegungen zu Dimensionen und Perspektiven der Politik(en) des Übersetzens



Andreas Gipper und Susanne Greilich

Der vorliegende Band, der aus der 2. Jahreskonferenz des DFG-Schwerpunktprogramms 2130 ‚Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit (1450–1800)‘ hervorgegangen ist, widmet sich einer Problematik, die in den vergangenen Jahren immer stärker in den Fokus der Translationsforschung und auch speziell der Übersetzungstheorie gerückt ist.¹ Dabei umfasst der deutsche Begriff ‚Übersetzungspolitiken‘ zwei Bedeutungsdimensionen, die im Englischen mit den Termini ‚Politics‘ und ‚Policy‘ markiert sind. Diese Unterscheidung ist von Relevanz nicht nur, weil sie eine Differenzierung zwischen Inhalten, Aufgaben, Zielen auf der einen Seite (Policy) sowie Verfahren, Auseinandersetzungen, Machtstrukturen (Politics) auf der anderen Seite erlaubt, sondern auch, weil der Begriff der ‚Translation Policy‘ im Bereich der Translation Studies seit einer Reihe von Jahren vor allem im Zusammenhang mit der Analyse von Translationsnormen verwendet wird. Die Frage nach der Translation Policy in diesem Sinne ist damit vor allem die Frage nach den Bedingungen, die dafür verantwortlich zeichnen, dass überhaupt und in welcher Form übersetzt wird. Es geht mithin um die grundsätzliche Frage danach, warum bestimmte Texte, Bilder und Zeichenkomplexe eine Übersetzung erfahren,

¹Vgl. Spivak (1994), Schäffner (2007), Gal (2017), Capan et al. (2021). Zum Konzept der Translation-Policy siehe Meylaerts (2011), González Núñez (2016).

Translated by Nicola Morris and Melanie Newton (Tradukas GbR), see Chapter 2.

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A. Flüchter et al., *Übersetzungspolitiken in der Frühen Neuzeit / Translation Policy and the Politics of Translation in the Early Modern Period*, Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit 3, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-67339-3_1

während andere unübersetzt bleiben (müssen). Und es geht des Weiteren um die Frage, welche Faktoren schließlich auf die konkrete Ausgestaltung von Übersetzung im Sinne des Übertragungsprozesses von einem semiotischen und kulturellen System in ein anderes Einfluss nehmen.

Das semantische Feld, welches durch das Binom ‚Policy/Politics‘ bezeichnet wird, ist aber auch deshalb von zentraler Bedeutung, weil neben Übersetzungspolitik(en) im Sinne des Konzepts der Translation Policy (mit ihren soziokulturellen, ökonomischen und interkulturellen Einflussfaktoren) die Rolle von Übersetzungen im Kontext politischer Verhandlungs- und Aushandlungsprozesse in den Blick genommen werden soll. Die Analyse von Übersetzungspolitiken in diesem zweiten Sinne geht also dem Zusammenhang zwischen ‚Translation‘ und ‚Politics‘ nach. Dabei wendet sich der vorliegende Band multiplen Übersetzungspraktiken der Frühen Neuzeit zu, die neben Übersetzungen von einer Sprache in eine andere (*translation proper*) Übersetzungsleistungen in ästhetisch-materiellem bzw. intermedialem Sinne sowie schließlich im kulturellen Sinne betreffen.

Policy und Politics der Übersetzung verweisen beide darauf, dass Übersetzungen immer mit den verschiedensten Machtstrukturen verflochten sind und keine neutralen Operationen darstellen. Darauf haben nicht zuletzt die postkolonialen Denker*innen hingewiesen.² Macht kann freilich in sehr verschiedenen Formen wirksam werden. Übersetzungen können beispielsweise als Instrument der Unterwerfung genutzt werden, ganz konkret ‚von oben‘ reguliert werden, bis hin zu einer Übersetzungspolitik, die bestimmte Formen der Übersetzung verbietet.³ Politische Machtbeziehungen drücken sich zudem in kulturellen und linguistischen Systemen aus und strukturieren darüber ebenfalls Übersetzungen und Übersetzbarkeit.⁴ Hegemoniale diskursive Muster schlagen sich in Übersetzungen nieder, Grenzen des Sagbaren werden zu Grenzen des Übersetzbaren.

Betrachtet man die Fachgeschichte der noch jungen Translation Studies, so wird man sagen dürfen, dass die politische Dimension von Übersetzungen bereits früh, mit der Entstehung der Descriptive Translation Studies, ein starkes Interesse gefunden hat und hier zunächst vor allem unter dem Label der *Manipulation of Literature* verhandelt worden ist.⁵ Während die Frage der Translationspolitik also in theoretischer Hinsicht ein erhebliches Interesse findet, stellt man fest, dass das entsprechende Forschungsinteresse sich in seiner konkreten historischen Dimension ganz wesentlich auf das 20. Jahrhundert und die Gegenwart konzentriert. Translationspolitische Untersuchungen, die weiter historisch ausgreifen, sind demgegenüber eher selten.⁶ Zur Schließung genau dieser Lücke möchte der vorliegende Band beitragen.

²Vgl. Spivak (2009 [1993]), Asad (1986).

³Vgl. Cheyfitz (1991), Burke und Hsia (2007).

⁴Vgl. Venuti (2008).

⁵So der Titel des einflussreichen Bandes von Theo Hermans aus dem Jahre 1985.

⁶Erwähnt seien beispielhaft: Blumenfeld-Kosinski et al. (2001), Cronin (2005), Gipper et al. (2022).

Heuristisch erscheinen uns drei Gesichtspunkte des Politischen von zentralem Interesse und besonders geeignet, die Beiträge des vorliegenden Bandes zu strukturieren. Es sind dies die Fragen nach jenen kulturellen Normen und Kriterien, die darüber entscheiden, was überhaupt übersetzt wird (kulturelle Filter), die Fragen nach den politischen, religiösen oder ökonomischen Interessen, die sich mit Übersetzungen verbinden (Kalkül) und die Frage nach der Bedeutung von Übersetzungen für alle Formen der Interaktion im politischen Bereich im engeren Sinne (Diplomatie). Diese drei Gesichtspunkte sollen im Folgenden näher konturiert werden.

1.1 Kulturelle Filter

Eine Auseinandersetzung mit den politischen Prozessen, die auf Übersetzungen einwirken, in die Übersetzungen eingebunden sind, und als deren Akteure Übersetzungen auftreten können, neigt naturgemäß zu einer eher akteurszentrierten Perspektive. Die Untersuchung von Prozessen der Zensur, von Übersetzungsprogrammen, wie sie von Institutionen unterschiedlichster Art initiiert werden (etwa durch Höfe, Akademien, religiöse Orden, diplomatische Vertretungen, oder auch Gelehrtenzirkel und Verlage), oder die Funktionalisierung von Übersetzungen in politischen und religiösen Auseinandersetzungen – ein klassisches und vieluntersuchtes Beispiel ist hier die Problematik der Bibelübersetzungen im Rahmen der Reformation – legen eine solche Perspektive in besonderer Weise nahe und erweisen sich hier auch als außerordentlich fruchtbar.⁷

Daneben sind in den letzten Jahren in der Forschung zunehmend jene niederschweligen und oft unbewussten Mechanismen in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses gerückt, die eine maßgebliche Rolle bei der Auswahl dessen spielen, was überhaupt übersetzt wird. Gideon Toury hat diese Mechanismen als „preliminary norms“ unter der Rubrik „Translation policy“ in den Blick genommen.⁸ Denn Übersetzungskulturen implizieren immer auch Auswahlmechanismen, die von bestimmten Vorstellungen davon geprägt werden, was für das Zielpublikum interessant, integrierbar und kulturell anschlussfähig ist. Gerade diese Perspektive ist besonders geeignet, einen strikt zielkulturellen Analyseansatz zu plausibilisieren, so wie ihn Toury in der Übersetzungstheorie durchzusetzen suchte. Denn es ist klar,

⁷ Diese akteurszentrierte Perspektive hat sich in den letzten Jahren nicht zuletzt unter dem Label der *Translator Studies* formiert. Zwei Publikationen, die sich (auch) um eine methodologische Bestimmung des Forschungsfeldes bemühen, seien an dieser Stelle erwähnt. Zum einen das Themenheft der Zeitschrift *Hermes* mit dem Titel *Translation Studies: Focus on the Translator*, Nr. 42 (2009). Erwähnenswert sind hier nicht zuletzt die Beiträge von Chesterman und Pym. Zum anderen der jüngst von Kaindl et al. herausgegebene Band *Literary Translator Studies*. (Amsterdam: Benjamins 2021.)

⁸ Vgl. Toury (2012).

dass die Frage nach dem, was überhaupt – und auch wie – übersetzt wird, in aller Regel nicht von der Ausgangskultur, sondern von der Zielkultur bestimmt wird.

Nun gibt es im 20. Jahrhundert eine ganze Reihe von Beispielen dafür, dass Staaten, Regime und Kulturräume versucht haben, auf ihre Wahrnehmung im Ausland durch eine gesteuerte Übersetzungsförderung Einfluss zu nehmen. Und natürlich gibt es solche Versuche weiterhin. Freilich legen die wenigen existierenden Studien zu dieser Frage nahe, dass der Erfolg solcher Bestrebungen eher bescheiden gewesen ist. Das gilt etwa für die weitgehend vergeblichen Bemühungen des NS-Regimes, in Europa die Verbreitung regimetreuer oder als für die eigene Kultur emblematisch erachteter Autorinnen und Autoren via Übersetzung zu befördern⁹, es gilt aber auch für ähnliche Versuche des faschistischen Regimes in Italien.¹⁰ In jedem Falle handelt es sich um ein Phänomen der Moderne. Für die Frühe Neuzeit gilt: abgesehen von Einzelfällen, wo Autoren selbst versuchen, die Übersetzung ihrer Werke im Ausland zu fördern und zu steuern, hängen Entscheidungen über das, was überhaupt übersetzt wird, so gut wie ausschließlich vom zielkulturellen Erwartungs- und Interessenhorizont ab.

Eine – wenn auch wichtige – Ausnahme bilden in diesem Zusammenhang die Übersetzungsaktivitäten im Rahmen von Missionierungsprogrammen. Hier ist es gewissermaßen *per definitionem* gerade nicht die Zielkultur, welche die Auswahl der zu übersetzenden Texte bestimmt, sondern die Ausgangskultur. Das Toury-sche Postulat, demzufolge Übersetzungen ausschließlich „facts of the target culture“ seien, ist an dieser Stelle vermutlich neu zu überdenken. Zwar mag man argumentieren, dass auch solche Übersetzungen lediglich in der Zielkultur wirken, man muss aber feststellen, dass ihre Auswahl wie ihre spezifischen Ausformungen, wie etwa der jesuitische Akkommodationsstreit zeigt, weniger von zielkulturellen, denn von ausgangskulturellen Mechanismen und Bedingungen gesteuert wird.¹¹

Sieht man von diesem gewichtigen Sonderfall ab, so gilt, dass die übersetzungssteuernden zielkulturellen Erwartungs- und Interessehorizonte sich als weitgehend unabhängig erweisen, nicht nur von dem, was man als die intrinsischen Qualitäten des Ausgangstextes betrachten könnte (literarisches bzw. künstlerisches Innovationspotential, ‚Originalität‘ usw.), sondern auch von seiner Bedeutung in der Ausgangskultur. Um ein Beispiel aus dem Bereich der Italianistik zu bemühen: Warum existiert ein Klassiker der italienischen Literatur des späten 18. Jahrhunderts wie Giuseppe Parinis *Il Giorno* auf Deutsch nur in einer höchst obskuren

⁹Vgl. hierzu etwa Barbian (1993), S. 187–194.

¹⁰Rundle (2010) etwa zeigt, wie alle Versuche der faschistischen Kulturpolitik, den Literaturimport via *Intraduction* an einen entsprechenden Literaturexport via *Extraduction* zu binden, im Ansatz scheitern.

¹¹Der Akkommodationsstreit oder auch Ritenstreit, der im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert zwischen Jesuiten, Franziskanern und Dominikanern um die Frage entbrannte, wieweit die Mission sich an die Vorstellungswelt der zu Missionierenden anpassen darf, hatte verständlicherweise weitreichende Auswirkungen auch auf die Art und Weise, in der christliche Texte wie Katechismen in die jeweiligen Zielsprachen übersetzt wurden. Vgl. hierzu: Kiaer et al. (2022).

Relaisübersetzung über das Französische, während von Manzoni's *Promessi sposi* mittlerweile ein Dutzend Übersetzungen vorliegen? Man mag vielleicht antworten, dass dies an der größeren Modernität Manzoni's liege, und man hätte damit eine Kategorie ins Spiel gebracht, die das Interesse an Übersetzungen in den Gegenwartskulturen in der Tat maßgeblich steuert. Im Falle Parini's und Manzoni's dürfte dieser Aspekt vor allem auf einer gattungshistorischen Ebene wirksam geworden sein. Während Parini's Kritik der italienischen Adelsgesellschaft in sozialgeschichtlicher Hinsicht vielleicht sogar als moderner erscheinen kann als der katholische Providentialismus Manzoni's, dürfte die Parini-Rezeption im europäischen Ausland vor allem unter seiner Verwendung der Gattung des Versepos gelitten haben. Manzoni hingegen setzte mit der Gattung Roman auf ein Genre, dem nicht nur in Italien die literarische Zukunft gehören sollte. Freilich kommt die Frage nach der Modernität an ihre Grenzen, wenn man betrachtet, dass allein in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten in Deutschland ein halbes Dutzend Übersetzungen der mittelalterlichen *Divina Commedia* von Dante erschienen sind. Man wird also davon ausgehen dürfen, dass auch noch weitere Faktoren zu berücksichtigen sind. Im Falle unseres Parini-Beispiels dürfte es nicht zuletzt der Aspekt der Anschlussfähigkeit an den kulturellen bzw. lebensweltlichen Erfahrungshorizont des Zielpublikums sein, der dazu beigetragen hat, dass der stark von der französischen Aufklärung beeinflusste Parini zwar nicht unmittelbar ins Deutsche, so doch ins Französische (und Englische) übersetzt wurde. Das deutsche Interesse an Manzoni wiederum dürfte umgekehrt nicht zuletzt auf seine Kontakte zu Goethe und seine frühe Rezeption im Goethe-Kreis zurückzuführen sein.

Klar ist, dass die Mechanismen, die die Wahrnehmung und das Interesse an fremden Literaturen und Kulturen filtern, unterschiedlichster Art sind. Klar ist aber ebenfalls: auch da, wo die entsprechenden übersetzerischen Entscheidungen und Strategien unartikuliert bleiben, verweisen sie das analytische Interesse auf das ihnen zugrunde liegende Gerüst an sozialen und kulturellen Machtstrukturen.

An erster Stelle ist hier zweifellos das implizite oder explizite Prestige eines Werks, eines Autors oder einer Kultur zu nennen. Dieses Prestige ist natürlich oftmals der Spiegel objektiver geopolitischer Machtverhältnisse und kultureller Einflussphären. Es ist aber ebenso sehr das Produkt sozialer Werteordnungen, binnenkultureller Hierarchien und Kanones der Zielkultur. Dass arabische Gelehrte griechische Philosophie und Wissenschaft übersetzt haben, zeugt von ersterem. Dass sie den Peripathetiker Alexander von Aphrodisias und den Pythagoräer Nicomachus von Gerasa übersetzt haben, nicht aber Sophokles, Aischylos und Euripides, zeugt von letzterem und belegt die weitgehende Unabhängigkeit von den Standards der Ausgangskultur. Auch für die Frühe Neuzeit gilt entsprechend: die Zahl an Übersetzungen ist ein untrüglicher Indikator für Verschiebungen im Prestige- und Machtgefälle der europäischen Kulturen. Aber das, was von der jeweiligen fremden Kultur wahrgenommen und in Übersetzung rezipiert wird, spricht das, was konkret interessiert, ist ganz wesentlich ein Produkt zielkultureller Wahrnehmungsmuster.

Unter diesen Wahrnehmungsmustern spielen diejenigen der Fremdheit und der Exotik gewiss eine besonders wichtige Rolle, aber auch solche der Abgrenzung und der Bedrohung sind nicht zu unterschätzen. Solche Muster sind in fast allen Kulturen zu finden, sie sind aber insbesondere den Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit mit ihrem zunehmenden Bestreben nach einer übersetzerischen Kartographierung und Aneignung der Welt in ihrer Gesamtheit fundamental eingeschrieben. Die Frage der Filter schließt hier unmittelbar an alle jene Fragen der auktorialen Ermächtigung an, die von den Postcolonial Studies in den Mittelpunkt gerückt worden sind. Die Frage, wer spricht, und die Frage, wem (via Übersetzung) das Recht zugestanden wird selbst zu sprechen (wenn schon nicht mit eigener Sprache),¹² erweist sich in dieser Perspektive als Machtfrage par excellence.

1.2 Kalkül

Ein prägnantes Beispiel für diese Zusammenhänge liefert die Übersetzungsgeschichte der *Comentarios reales* (1609/1617) des Mestizen Garcilaso Inca de la Vega im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Das Werk, das gemeinhin als erstes veröffentlichtes Zeugnis über die präkolumbianischen Gesellschaften und die Eroberung Amerikas aus indigener Perspektive – und als eines von wenigen solcher Zeugnisse überhaupt – gilt, fußt bereits im Ursprung auf einem multiplen Übersetzungs-Prozess, nämlich der detaillierten Ausdeutung von Quechua-Begriffen und der Übertragung u. a. mündlich überlieferter Wissensbestände der Inkas in die spanische Sprache und das europäische Schriftsystem. Im Jahre 1633 durch Jean Baudouin ins Französische übersetzt (Paris: Courbé), sollten die *Comentarios reales* ihren eigentlichen ‚Siegeszug‘ in Frankreich und Westeuropa in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts antreten, mithin im Kontext der Aufklärung, ihres Utilitätsgedankens und der (auch exotistischen) Faszination für die außereuropäische koloniale Welt: Nacheinander erschienen in Amsterdam (Kuyper, 1704) und Paris (Pault fils, 1744) verbesserte bzw. völlig neue Übersetzungen des spanischen Werks. Der Übersetzer der Pariser Edition bemerkt im Vorwort über den Ausgangstext:

Wir sind der Meinung, dass er von großem Nutzen für die Gesellschaft sein kann, aufgrund der großartigen Beispiele, die er liefert von der Güte, Sanftmut, Gerechtigkeit und Mäßigung der Herrscher und der Folgsamkeit, Fügsamkeit, Zuneigung und des Respekts der Untertanen. (Übers. S.G.)¹³

¹²Vgl. Spivak (1994).

¹³„L'on a jugé qu'il pouvoit être fort utile à la société à cause des grands exemples qu'il présente, de bonté, de douceur, de justice, & de modération de la part des Souverains, de docilité, de soumission, d'attachement & de respect de la part des Sujets.“, Garcilaso de la Vega (1744), Bd. 1, S. ix.

Der holländische Verleger wiederum konstatiert: „Es gibt nur wenige Gelehrte, die nicht wissen, dass die *Histoire des Yncas, & de la Conquête du Pérou* ebenso interessant wie selten ist.“¹⁴

Beide Zitate verweisen auf die „preliminary norms“ der Übersetzung von Garcilaso Incas Text. Zugleich wird kulturelle Anschlussfähigkeit mit einem weiteren Aspekt verschränkt, nämlich dem des Kalküls im Sinne des wirtschaftlichen Interesses an Übersetzung. So heißt es weiter:

Man findet sie [=die *Comentarios reales*, S.G.] seit Langem schon [...] nur in einzelnen Privatbibliotheken, und der übertrieben hohe Preis, der auf den Auktionen dafür bezahlt wird, lässt die Notwendigkeit, den Text erneut zu veröffentlichen, leicht erkennen. (Übers. S.G.)¹⁵

Angesichts der hohen Nachfrage nach Garcilaso Incas Text konnten die Verleger auf ein profitables Geschäft hoffen. Dieser Gesichtspunkt des Kalküls ist sowohl hinsichtlich der – in aller Regel männlichen – Produzenten respektive Initiatoren von Übersetzungen zu denken, als auch ihrer Rezipientinnen und Rezipienten. Und er kommt nicht nur als ökonomisches, sondern auch als kulturelles, soziales und symbolisches Kapital im Sinne Bourdieus ins Spiel.¹⁶ Die Aussicht auf wirtschaftlichen Gewinn und/oder Renommee spielte auf verlegerischer Seite eine Rolle für die Entscheidung für oder gegen eine Übersetzung, ebenso wie vorhandenes soziales Kapital in Form von Kontakten zu versierten Übersetzern und Netzwerken in die Überlegungen miteinbezogen wurde. Hinsichtlich des Absatzkreises galt es, aus verlegerischer Perspektive das ökonomische und kulturelle Kapital der anvisierten Leserschaft zu beachten ebenso wie deren möglichen Wunsch, mittels des Erwerbs übersetzter Werke – zu denen Texte ebenso zählen konnten wie graphische Werke oder auch Karten – symbolisches Kapital zu generieren. Insbesondere die ersten beiden Aspekte, d. h. das ökonomische und das kulturelle Kapital, nahmen Einfluss auf die formale und materielle Ausgestaltung übersetzter Werke, etwa hinsichtlich ihres Umfangs und Formats, des verwendeten sprachlichen bzw. ästhetischen Registers, der Beibehaltung respektive Auflösung von *termini technici*, der Beigabe von Glossaren und Abbildungen usw. Das ursprünglich im Oktavformat gedruckte *Dictionnaire géographique-portatif* von Jean-Baptiste Ladvocat beispielsweise, ein französisches geographisches Taschenwörterbuch (2. Aufl., Paris, 1747), erschien in der spanischen Übersetzung (Madrid, 1750) im weniger handlichen Quartformat – eine Entscheidung, die der Herausgeber zugleich mit den Zwängen der spanischen Buchproduktion (u. a. fehlenden Drucktypen) und den Kaufinteressen der spanischen Leserschaft begründete, welche – anders als das französische Publikum – kein Interesse an einem Taschenwörterbuch

¹⁴ „Il y a peu de Gens de Lettres, qui ne sachent que l’*Histoire des Yncas, & de la Conquête du Pérou* est aussi curieuse, qu’elle est rare.“, Garcilaso de la Vega (1704), Bd. 1, o. S.

¹⁵ „On ne la trouve plus depuis long temps, soit en François ou en Espagnol, que dans les Bibliothèques de quelques Particuliers; & le prix excessif qu’on en donne aux Auctions, fait bien voir la nécessité qu’il y avoit de la publier de nouveau.“, Garcilaso de la Vega (1704), Bd. 1, o. S.

¹⁶Vgl. Bourdieu (1979), Bourdieu (1983).

für die Reise besäße, sich aber gerne eines geographischen Nachschlagewerks für die Lektüre von Zeitungen und Historien bediene.¹⁷

Mit der Vergegenwärtigung dieser Aspekte rückt neben dem Übersetzer auch der Verleger als Schlüsselfigur von Übersetzungsvorhaben in der Frühen Neuzeit in den Mittelpunkt. Er fungierte als „entrepreneur of translation“,¹⁸ der mittels Übersetzung in verschiedene Vernakularsprachen einen globalen Markt erschließen konnte oder dieses Ziel über die Wahl einer *lingua franca* (wie Latein bzw. Französisch) verfolgte. In vielen Fällen verschränkte sich solch verlegerisches Kalkül mit den bereits skizzierten Mechanismen von Macht und kultureller Anschlussfähigkeit. Um ein weiteres Beispiel zu bemühen: Die in enzyklopädischen und wissenschaftlichen Texten der Frühen Neuzeit häufig zu findende Versicherung, dass das übersetzte Werk an den Kontext des Zielpublikums angepasst worden sei, ist zugleich als absatzfördernde Werbemaßnahme und Ausdruck der Konzession an kulturelle Erwartungen und diskursiv bedingte (Un-)Sagbarkeiten zu verstehen.

Eine vergleichende Analyse von Ausgangstext und Translat könnte den Fokus darauf richten, in welchem Verhältnis die unterschiedlichen Politiken des Übersetzens miteinander stehen. Wo überschneiden sich die Prämissen kultureller Integrierbarkeit und wirtschaftlichen Kalküls? Wo geraten sie in Konflikt miteinander? Gibt es Fälle, in denen gerade das Widerständige („Fremde“, „Exotische“) bzw. das Unsagbare (Verbotene, Tabuisierte) des Ausgangstexts zum Bestandteil verlegerischer Übersetzungspolitik wird? Wo werden Verfahren der „exoticizing translation“,¹⁹ d. h. die bewusste, übersetzerische Herstellung von kultureller Differenz zwischen Objekt und Subjekt der Rezeption (z. B. durch Nicht-Übersetzung fremdsprachlicher Ausdrücke), als strategische Mittel eingesetzt, um Leselust und Kaufinteresse zu steigern? Und wo scheitert, umgekehrt, die Übersetzung, obwohl aus verlegerischer und/oder politischer Sicht (s. u.) potentiell gewinnbringend, an der ‚Widerständigkeit‘ des Ausgangstextes, oder anders: der Unüberbrückbarkeit von Ausgangs- und Zielkultur? In den Blick gelangen damit, nicht zuletzt, auch unvollständig gebliebene Übersetzungsvorhaben, d. h. Unternehmungen, die am mangelnden kulturellen, sozialen oder ökonomischen Kapital des Verlegers und/oder Übersetzers selbst gescheitert sind: an erschöpften finanziellen Ressourcen, ausbleibenden Subskribenten, fehlenden Netzwerken oder schlicht der mangelnden sprachlichen oder kulturellen Vertrautheit des beauftragten Übersetzers mit den semiotischen Systemen von ‚Ausgangstext‘ (i. w. Sinne des Begriffs) und Zielkultur.

Aus einer stärker buch- oder auch kunstgeschichtlichen Perspektive heraus geraten mit dem Aspekt des Kalküls materielle Dimensionen in den Fokus; hierdurch werden Beigaben im Vergleich zum Ausgangswerk, etwa in Form von Ab-

¹⁷Vgl. entsprechend die „Advertencia del Traductor“, in De la Serna und Ladvoat (1750), o. S.

¹⁸Van Groesen (2012).

¹⁹Vgl. hierzu Venuti (2008).

bildungen oder Kartenmaterial, Verzierungen und Ornamenten (oder umgekehrt deren Auslassung), zum integralen Bestandteil von Übersetzungspolitik – und damit auch von deren kritischer Analyse. Wo generierte nicht nur der Besitz der im Translat enthaltenen Informationen im engeren Sinne Kapital und damit Macht, sondern schon die bloße Materialität des Objekts? In welcher Form wurden schließlich Paratexte zum Instrument der Selbstinszenierung des Übersetzers als Co-Autor des Werks und damit seiner Ermächtigung? Sei es, dass der Übersetzer im Vorwort über die eigene Rolle im Kontext des übersetzten Werks reflektierte; sei es, dass er Beigaben wählte, die den übersetzten Text im Vergleich zum Ausgangswerk aufwerteten?

Mit diesen Überlegungen ist nicht zuletzt die Frage danach aufgeworfen, welcher Stellenwert Übersetzungen als solchen zu einem je spezifischen Zeitpunkt in der Gesellschaft beigemessen wurde, oder anders: welches symbolische und kulturelle Kapital ihnen jeweils grundsätzlich zukam. Die staatliche Förderung von Übersetzungen aus anderen Sprachen in die eigene Vernakularsprache lässt sich unter dieser Perspektive ebenso verstehen wie umgekehrt die rückwirkende Verurteilung von Übersetzungstätigkeit als ‚servile Imitation‘, wie sie beispielsweise unter dem Stichwort des ‚afrancesamiento‘ für das spanische 19. Jahrhundert charakteristisch werden sollte.²⁰

1.3 Diplomatie

Wie bereits weiter oben angedeutet, steht der Bereich der Diplomatie im Rahmen dieses Bandes metonymisch für alle Formen der politischen Kommunikation im engeren Sinne. Übersetzungen werden dabei ab der Frühen Neuzeit zu einem wichtigen Instrument der globalen Herrschaftsausübung. Während etwa im europäischen Mittelalter Übersetzungen administrativer oder juridischer Texte schon aufgrund der absoluten Prädominanz des Lateinischen eine untergeordnete Rolle spielen, werden diese am Übergang vom späten Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit vor allem im Zuge der sprachlichen Normierung und Grammatisierung der Volkssprachen und alsbald der Vernakularisierung der europäischen Verwaltungssprachen in immer stärkerem Maße zum alltäglichen Bestandteil politischer Praxis. Dieser

²⁰Als ‚afrancesados‘ (‚Franzosenfreunde‘) wurden in Spanien jene Landsleute bezeichnet, die sich unter der Herrschaft der Bourbonen (Karl III. von Spanien) Frankreich zuwandten. Im Kontext der Französischen Revolution und der napoleonischen Herrschaft (José I.) sowie im Gefolge des Unabhängigkeitskrieges (sog. ‚Guerra de la Independencia Española‘, 1808–1814) wurde der Terminus deutlich pejorativ aufgeladen. Nationalkonservative Kreise verwendeten ihn im 19. Jahrhundert, um retrospektiv Phänomene des französisch-spanischen Kulturtransfers, wie sie sich im 18. Jahrhundert im Bereich der Wissenschaften, der Kultur und Literatur (‚neoclassicismo‘) finden, als ‚unspanisch‘ (‚no castizo‘) zurückzuweisen. Übersetzungen und Adaptionen französischer Werke, Stilrichtungen und Moden wurden als ‚afrancesamiento‘ (dt. in etwa: ‚Franzosen-Nachäfferei‘) diskreditiert.

Zusammenhang zwischen Grammatisierung und Herrschaftsausübung kommt nirgends deutlicher zum Ausdruck, als in der ersten Grammatik einer europäischen Volkssprache überhaupt, nämlich in Nebrijas *Gramática castellana* von 1492, die bezeichnenderweise just im Jahr der Entdeckung Amerikas durch Kolumbus erscheint. Im Vorwort dieser Grammatik wendet sich Nebrija an den spanischen König mit folgenden Worten:

Denn bald wird Eure Hoheit vielen barbarischen Völkern und Nationen fremder Sprachen ihr Joch auferlegt haben und mit dem Sieg wird es für jene notwendig sein, die Gesetze anzunehmen, die der Sieger den Besiegten auferlegt, und damit auch unsere Sprache, zu deren Kenntnis sie durch meine Grammatik gelangen werden [...]. (Übers. A.G.)²¹

Es ist diese Trias aus Grammatikalisierung, Verschriftlichung und medialer Verbreitung durch die Erfindung des Buchdrucks, die an der Schwelle zur Frühen Neuzeit die moderne Vorstellung von Landessprachen als jene „unterschiedliche und klar voneinander abgegrenzte Käfige“ kreieren, in denen wir, wie es Ivan Illich einmal formulierte bis „heute eingeschlossen zu sein meinen“.²² Und genau diese Vorstellung ist es, die jene Übersetzungskulturen hervorbringt, denen sich das SPP 2130 ‚Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit‘ vor allem zuwendet. Insofern wird deutlich, dass die Dimension des Politischen, und zwar durchaus in einem engen Sinne, zur Problematik des Übersetzens nicht in irgendeinem kontingenten Sinne hinzutritt, sondern dass sie diese gewissermaßen von ihren Anfängen an durchzieht.

Das gilt nicht nur in der Kommunikation von Staaten mit ihren Untertanen, bzw. zwischen Staaten und den von ihnen beherrschten Völkern, es gilt nicht nur im Rahmen der Binnenkommunikation zwischen Regierungen, nicht nur im Rahmen von Wirtschaftsbeziehungen, sondern auch im Kontakt zwischen Kulturen und Zivilisationen. Einige wichtige Mosaiksteine solcher fast immer asymmetrischer übersetzerischer Kommunikationsverhältnisse in der Frühen Neuzeit werden in den folgenden Beiträgen thematisiert: Übersetzungen als Herrschaftsinstrument im Rahmen der Jesuitenmission oder protestantischer Missionsgesellschaften, die Bedeutung von Übersetzungen im Kontext der spanischen Kolonialpolitik im heutigen Mexiko ab dem 16. Jahrhundert oder die Erstellung von Japankarten im Rahmen der russischen Imperialpolitik in Ostasien. Dabei zeigt sich, dass neben der im engeren Sinne sprachlichen Dimension para-verbale und nonverbale Codes, Rituale, Karten, Gemälde und Architekturen eine zentrale Rolle für die hier zu beobachtenden Übersetzungs-, Dekodierungs- und Sinngebungsprozesse spielen. Und natürlich kommt in all diesen Prozessen auch der Frage nach der Konstruktion bestimmter Formen von Alterität zentrale Bedeutung zu.

²¹ „que después que vuestra Alteza metiese debaxo de su iugo muchos pueblos bárbaros y naciones de peregrinas lenguas: y con el vencimiento aquellos tenían necesidad de recibir las leyes: quel vencedor pone al vencido y con ellas nuestra lengua: entonces por esta mi Arte podrán venir en el conocimiento della [...]“, Nebrija (1926), Prefacio.

²² Illich und Sanders (1989), S. 75.

1.4 Zu den Beiträgen

Der Band eröffnet mit drei Beiträgen zum thematischen Schwerpunkt *Kalkül zwischen Politics und Policy*.

Mit der zweisprachigen *India Occidentalis*-Sammlung der niederländischen Verleger De Bry wendet sich Helge Perplies einem Korpus zu, dem multiple – kulturelle, linguistische und intermediale – Übersetzungsprozesse zugrunde liegen. Fremdsprachliche Amerika-Reiseberichte wurden in ihrer vernakularsprachlichen, deutschen Fassung einem breiteren, deutschsprachigen Publikum zugänglich gemacht, zugleich wurde mit der *lingua franca* Latein eine europäische Leserschaft anvisiert. Die lange als protestantisches Propaganda-werkzeug gelesene Textsammlung erfährt eine Neuperspektivierung: Der Aufsatz zeigt, dass die De Brys den Ausgangstexten mit Blick auf den europäischen und potentiell katholischen Absatzmarkt einiges an konfessioneller und politischer Sprengkraft nahmen. Zugleich wurden Verfahren der *domestication* und *exoticizing translation* eingesetzt, um den Text kulturell anschlussfähig zu gestalten und Neugierde zu wecken. So wie die Autoren Art und Ausmaß der Übersetzung kultureller Wissensbestände von der ‚Neuen‘ in die ‚Alte Welt‘ bestimmten, so zeigen sich auch die Verleger als ‚Gatekeeper‘, die ihre Sammlung vermittels Auswahl und Bearbeitung der Ausgangstexte für den Markt zuschnitten.

Am Schnittpunkt von kolonialem Diskurs und Translationspraxis analysieren Martina Schrader-Kniffki, Yannic Klamp und Malte Kneifel spanisch-zapotekische missionarische und notarielle Texte des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts aus Mittelamerika. Ausgehend von sprachlichen Aspekten rekonstruieren sie spezifische Translationsverfahren, in denen sich soziale Kategorisierungen der indigenen amerikanischen Bevölkerung durch die koloniale Metropole Spanien widerspiegeln. Die Klassifizierung der Indigenen als *personas miserables* und der damit einhergehende, rechtliche Sonderstatus als Schutzbefohlene zeitigte ambige Effekte: Der Diskurs der Metropole wies den indigenen Einwohnerinnen und Einwohnern einerseits einen Platz am Ende der sozialen Hierarchie zu. Andererseits eröffnete er ihnen Handlungsspielräume und damit Ermächtigung: Das spanische Bild der Indigenen als *personas miserables* wurde von der so bezeichneten Bevölkerungsgruppe übernommen und in juristischen Kontexten strategisch eingesetzt, um – in einer Situation asymmetrischer Machtverhältnisse – Einfluss auf rechtliche Entscheidungen zu nehmen. Kolonialer Diskurs und indigenes Fremdbild wirkten damit als Normen, die die Translationspraktiken in Neuspanien in beide Richtungen prägten.

Am Beispiel von Wissenschaftsübersetzungen des 18. Jahrhunderts aus dem Deutschen ins Französische zeigt Caroline Mannweiler auf, in welcher Form Texte, deren Inhalt der Sicherung industrieller Wettbewerbsfähigkeit in der Zielkultur dienen sollten, hier spezifischer: der Optimierung des heimischen Erzabbaus, zugleich zum Ort eines symbolischen Konkurrenzgeschehens zwischen (nationalen) Gemeinschaften wurden. Der Beitrag lenkt den Blick auf die Paratexte der französischen Übersetzungen, in denen versucht wird, der wissenschaftlichen Relevanz der deutschen Ausgangstexte gleichsam kompensatorisch ‚eigene‘ Quali-

täten entgegenzusetzen, wobei nicht zuletzt das symbolische Kapital des Französischen mobilisiert wird. Dem zweiten thematischen Schwerpunkt *Kulturelle Filter* sind insgesamt sechs Aufsätze gewidmet.

Regina Toepfer fokussiert auf literarische Adaptionen von antiken Erzählstoffen im deutschen 16. Jahrhundert. Der Artikel untersucht die Bearbeitung der Europa- und Alcyone-Mythen aus Ovids *Metamorphosen* durch den Augsburger Johannes Spreng. Die Perspektive gilt den kulturellen Filtern des frühneuzeitlichen deutschen Bürgertums im Sinne genderspezifischer Normen, unter denen die erzählte Welt der Antike wahrgenommen wurde und die für die umdeutende Übersetzung der weiblichen Figuren verantwortlich zeichneten. Mittels einer vergleichenden Analyse werden die literarischen Techniken und sprachlichen Verfahren offengelegt, die Spreng verwendete, um die Heldinnen Ovids in deutsche ‚Hausfrauen‘ zu verwandeln.

Elena Parina widmet sich religiösen Manuskripten der sogenannten ‚Glamorgan School of Translation‘ und damit einem Korpus, dessen Übersetzung aus dem Englischen bzw. Lateinischen ins Walisische von der Forschung bisher vor allem als Zeugnis einer Art religiösen Widerstands katholischer Milieus in Wales gegen die massive Durchsetzung des Protestantismus im Elisabethanischen Zeitalter begriffen worden ist. Demgegenüber postuliert der Aufsatz, dass die These einer klaren politischen, pro-katholischen Funktion der Werke zu nuancieren sei. Einige der Manuskripte erweisen sich als Übersetzungen von vorreformatorischen Texten, die nicht ohne weiteres in den Kontext konfessioneller Debatten eingeordnet werden können; in anderen Fällen zeigt ein Vergleich der Übersetzung mit ihrem Ausgangstext, dass von einer klaren antiprotestantischen Positionierung keine Rede sein kann. In Hinblick auf die kulturellen Filter der Übersetzung rücken damit andere Aspekte in den Mittelpunkt, wie der Alltagspietismus und der Konservatismus des Zielpublikums in der an der Peripherie gelegenen Region Wales.

Giulia Nardini wendet sich Übersetzungen im Kontext der jesuitischen Missionen des 17. Jahrhunderts in Südindien zu. Der Beitrag begreift die Mission als *contact zone*, in der Unterschiede verhandelt und kulturelle Grenzen überschritten bzw. gezogen wurden. Dabei erweist sich die Missionssituation auch als *translation zone* par excellence: Beschreibungen religiöser Praktiken lassen sich als Dokumente des Kulturtransfers lesen oder können, umgekehrt, hinsichtlich der Inkommensurabilität kultureller Zeichen- und Symbolsysteme analysiert werden. Am Beispiel des *Informatio de quibusdam moribus nationis Indicae* des italienischen Indienmissionars Roberto Nobili werden die Formen kultureller Übersetzung im skizzierten Sinne der Mediation spezifischer, kollektiver Wert- und Symbolsysteme beleuchtet. Nobilis Werk, mit dem er die römisch-katholische Kirche um Unterstützung für seine Mission ersuchte, übersetzte die Praktiken und Hierarchien der Brahmanen gemäß der sprachlichen, religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Codes und Register seines Zielpublikums.

Die Rolle der Buchkultur im Kontext der Jesuitenmission in Japan steht im Zentrum des Beitrags von Katja Triplett. Japanische Drucke der Jesuiten an der Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert zeugen von frühen Versuchen, sowohl be-

kannte als auch neu komponierte Texte für die katholische Mission in Japan zu übersetzen. Der Aufsatz untersucht die kulturellen Filter, die die Auswahl der zu übersetzenden Texte und die Art und Weise, wie zentrale katholische Lehren präsentiert wurden, determinierten. Missionsbriefe und Berichte von Jesuiten über Übersetzungspolitik, Zensur und *cultural accomodation* werden dabei ebenso analysiert wie gedruckte, japanische Übersetzungen des populären Andachtsbuches *Contemptus mundi* von Thomas von Kempen.

Mit dem Beitrag von Víctor de Castro León und Alberto Tiburcio wendet sich der Band der Kartographie als Gegenstand und Resultat von Übersetzungsprozessen zu. Die Autoren fokussieren auf das kartographische Werk des Nordafrikaners Alī al-Sharafī aus dem 16. Jahrhundert und seine Bezüge zur mittelalterlichen Chorographie *Nuzhat* des arabischen Geographen al-Idrīsī. Ausgehend von einem multiplen Übersetzungsbegriff, der zugleich linguistisch, intermedial und kulturell angelegt ist, präsentiert die Studie al-Sharafī als einen kreativen Übersetzer, der textliche und bildliche Zitate aus al-Idrīsīs Werk adaptierte und mit anderen kartographischen Quellen und Traditionen verschränkte. Evoziert werden Übertragungen von der geographischen Beschreibung in das Zeichensystem der Karte, vom Programm der Weltkarte in das der Portolankarte sowie die Perspektivverschiebung von der Welt auf den Mittelmeerraum. Damit werden Selektions- und Übersetzungsprozesse beleuchtet, in deren Kontext vielfache Filter wirksam wurden.

Die Kartographie steht auch im Mittelpunkt des Beitrags von Michaela Kästl, die sich der dritten Fassung von Matteo Riccis Weltkarte (*Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*) zuwendet. Der Aufsatz analysiert Riccis Karte als das Ergebnis kultureller Aushandlungs- und bilateraler Übersetzungsprozesse. Riccis Werk verbinde jesuitisch-europäische und chinesische Wissenstraditionen mit ihren jeweiligen kartographischen Darstellungen, weshalb die Karte in beide kulturhistorische Zusammenhänge – und damit die jeweiligen, impliziten kulturellen Filter der Übersetzung – zurückgebetet wird. In der Gleichzeitigkeit und Überlappung verschiedener kultureller und semiotischer Systeme auf der Karte manifestiert sich der kollaborative Konstruktionsprozess des Werks. Vor diesem Hintergrund wird Riccis Karte selbst als Raum der Begegnung und *translation zone* interpretierbar.

Während der Beitrag damit ein Beispiel gelungener Übersetzung zwischen dem europäischen und asiatischen Kulturraum und seinen jeweiligen kartographischen Traditionen und Normen präsentiert, stellen Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann und Ekaterina Simonova-Gudzenko einen Fall der ausbleibenden Übersetzung zwischen asiatischer und europäischer Kartographie vor. Ihre Analyse der Japan-Karten *Dai-kokuya Kodayus* eröffnet den dritten und letzten thematischen Schwerpunkt *Diplomatie und Machtstrukturen*.

Der Aufsatz zeichnet die Genese der Manuskripte ausgehend von der Biographie des Japaners Kodayu nach, der in den 1780er Jahren nach einem Schiffbruch an den russischen Hof gelangte und dort mit der Anfertigung von Karten beauftragt wurde. Die Dokumente, die den machtpolitischen Interessen Russlands dienen sollten, blieben gleichwohl ein Kuriosum: Zwar finden sich sprachliche Übersetzungen auf den Karten, doch wurden die graphischen Elemente nicht in ein den Europäern vertrautes Repräsentationssystem überführt. Der Beitrag begründet dies

mit der Unüberbrückbarkeit der differenten kartographischen Praxen Japans einerseits und Europas andererseits. Er wirft damit die ganz grundsätzliche Frage nach den Grenzen der Übersetzbarkeit, bzw. der möglichen Unübersetzbarkeit kultureller Zeichen,- Symbol- und Wertssysteme auf.

Mark Häberlein und Paula Manstetten fokussieren auf Übersetzungsprojekte im Kontext protestantischer Mission um 1700, spezifischer die entsprechenden Aktivitäten der pietistischen Hallenser Glauchaschen Anstalten und der anglikanischen ‚Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge‘ (SPCK). Der Beitrag hebt die zentrale Rolle hervor, die Übersetzungen für die Netzbildung zwischen den Akteuren im Sinne einer gemeinsamen, grenzüberschreitenden Missionspolitik zukam: Sie ermöglichten die transnationale Kommunikation, förderten die wechselseitige Schriften-Rezeption und gegenseitige Unterstützung missionarischer Aktivitäten und verweisen nicht zuletzt auf gemeinsame Vorstellungen von protestantischer Frömmigkeit. Die aus solcherlei Netzwerkarbeit resultierende politische Stärke der SPCK ermöglichte schließlich auch den Druck eines Neuen Testaments in arabischer Sprache – womit der Komplex protestantischer Übersetzungspolitik um einen weiteren Aspekt ergänzt wird.

Christina Strunck schließlich widmet sich in ihrem Aufsatz dem Royal Hospital in Chelsea, dessen Architektur und Malerei – insbesondere das monumentale Wandbild Antonio Verrios – als komplexes Projekt einer bildkünstlerischen und politischen Konkurrenz mit Frankreich gedeutet werden. Verrio habe sich just eines französischen Textes, nämlich Roland Fréart de Chambrays *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne* in der Übersetzung durch John Evelyn bedient, um das französische Vorbild des Hôtel des Invalides durch seine Orientierung an antiken Modellen zu übertrumpfen. Die analysierten Transferprozesse werden vor dem Hintergrund der interlingualen Fréart-Übersetzung in vielfältiger Weise als inter- und intramediale Übersetzungsprozesse gedeutet.

Der Band schließt mit einem Nachwort mit weiterführenden Überlegungen von Antje Flüchter und Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink zum Themenkomplex der Politik(en) des Übersetzens in der Frühen Neuzeit.

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Kapitel 2

Translation Policy and the Politics of Translation: Introductory Remarks on Dimensions and Perspectives



Andreas Gipper and Susanne Greilich

This volume emanates from the second annual conference of the German Research Foundation priority programme 2130, ‘Early Modern Translation Cultures (1450–1800)’, and is devoted to an issue of increasing interest to translation researchers in recent years, especially to those concerned with translation theory.¹ The German term *Übersetzungspolitiken* comprises two different dimensions of meaning that equate to the English terms ‘politics’ and ‘policy’ of translation. This distinction is relevant not only because it allows us to differentiate between content, tasks, and goals on the one hand (policy), and processes, conflicts, and power structures on the other (politics), but also because for a number of years now within the discipline of translation studies, the term ‘translation policy’ has been primarily applied in association with the analysis of translation norms. In this respect, translation policy is first and foremost about the conditions that determine whether translations happen at all, and if they do, what form they take. It therefore addresses the fundamental question of why certain texts, images, and sign systems are translated, while others necessarily remain untranslated. Moreover, we need to ask which factors ultimately

¹ See Spivak (1994), Schäffner (2007), Gal (2017), Capan et al. (2021). On the concept of translation policy see Meylaerts (2011), González Núñez (2016).

Translated by Nicola Morris and Melanie Newton
(Tradukas GbR).

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A. Flüchter et al., *Übersetzungspolitiken in der Frühen Neuzeit / Translation Policy and the Politics of Translation in the Early Modern Period*, *Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit* 3, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-67339-3_2

influence the specific form that translation takes, in the sense of a process of transmission from one semiotic and cultural system to another.

However, the semantic field designated by the binomial ‘policy/politics’ is of key importance for another reason: in addition to translation policy/ies (complete with the socio-cultural, economic, and intercultural factors that influence it/them), the role that translations play in political processes of negotiation and bargaining needs to be examined too. In other words, analysing the politics of translation in this second sense explores the connection between ‘translation’ and ‘politics’. This volume looks at a number of translation practices in the Early Modern period which, in addition to translations from one language to another (i.e. ‘translation proper’), concern translation in the material, aesthetic, intermedial, and ultimately cultural sense.

Both terms—the policy and politics of translation—allude to the fact that translations are always intertwined with the most diverse kinds of power structures and as such are not neutral operations. Postcolonial theorists, in particular, have pointed this out.² Of course, power can be effective in very different forms. Translations, for example, can be used as an instrument of repression, more specifically they can be regulated ‘from above’, and some translation policies may even prohibit certain kinds of translation.³ Political power relationships are also expressed in cultural and linguistic systems and as such are likewise used to structure translations and translatability.⁴ Hegemonial discursive patterns are reflected in translations, and the limits of what can be said become the limits of what can be translated.

If we look at the history of translation studies—which is still a young discipline—we can say that the political dimension of translations swiftly attracted strong interest thanks to the emergence of descriptive translation studies and, moreover, that it was initially discussed largely under the label ‘manipulation of literature’.⁵ So, while the question of translation policy has attracted considerable interest at a theoretical level, it can be noted that research interests are mainly focussed on the twentieth century and the present day in terms of their specific historical dimension. Investigations into the policy and politics of translation that extend beyond this historical timeframe are comparatively rare.⁶ This volume aims to help close that gap.

From a heuristic perspective, it seems to us that three aspects of the political dimension are of core importance and particularly suitable for structuring the articles in this volume. These concern, firstly, the cultural norms and criteria that decide what will actually be translated (cultural filters), secondly, the strategic po-

² See Spivak (2009 [1993]), Asad (1986).

³ See Cheyfitz (1991), Burke und Hsia (2007).

⁴ See Venuti (2008).

⁵ This was the title of an influential book by Theo Herman published in 1985.

⁶ Some examples of this are Blumenfeld-Kosinski et al. (2001), Cronin (2005), Gipper et al. (2022).

litical, religious, or economic interests associated with translations (calculation), and thirdly, the significance of translations for all kinds of interaction in the more limited sense of the political domain (diplomacy). These three aspects will be outlined in greater detail below.

2.1 Cultural Filters

An examination of the political processes that affect translations, in which translations are embedded and on whose behalf translations can occur, will of course tend to take an actor-centric approach. Investigating the processes of censorship, of translation programmes initiated by a whole range of institutions (such as royal courts, academies, religious orders, diplomatic missions, and even groups of scholars and publishers), and the functionalization of translations in political and religious debates—e.g. the much studied problem of Bible translations in the Reformation context—in particular suggests this kind of perspective and has also proven extraordinarily fruitful.⁷

In addition, recent research has increasingly focused on those low-threshold and often unconscious mechanisms that play a crucial role in selecting what is actually translated in the first place. Gideon Toury has looked at these mechanisms as “preliminary norms” within the category of “translation policy”.⁸ After all, translation cultures always imply selection mechanisms, which are influenced by certain ideas about what the target audience will find interesting, what can be integrated, and what is culturally compatible. It is this perspective that seems particularly apt for corroborating a strictly target-cultural approach, such as Toury sought to impose in translation theory. It is obvious that the question of what actually gets translated—and how—is generally determined by the target culture rather than by the source culture.

In the twentieth century, there are multiple examples of states, regimes, and cultural regions trying to influence how they are perceived abroad by promoting and controlling translation. And, of course, such attempts continue to exist. The few existing studies on this matter have admittedly revealed that these efforts have enjoyed somewhat limited success. This is true, for example, of the largely futile endeavours undertaken by the Nazi regime to use translation in order to promote the European spread of works by authors who were loyal or considered emble-

⁷This actor-centric perspective has emerged in recent years especially under the label of translator studies. Two publications that (also) seek to arrive at a methodological definition of the field of research should be mentioned here. Firstly, there is the journal *Hermes*, which devoted a special issue to *Translation Studies: Focus on the Translator*, no. 42 (2009). The articles by Chesterman and Pym are worthy of special note here. Secondly, there is the most recent volume of *Literary Translator Studies* (Amsterdam: Benjamins 2021), edited by Kaindl et al.

⁸See Toury (2012).

matic of their own culture,⁹ and the same goes for the Fascist regime in Italy.¹⁰ It is, in any case, a phenomenon of the modern era. As a rule of thumb, in the Early Modern period, with the exception of isolated cases where authors have themselves tried to promote and steer the translation of their own works abroad, decisions about what is to be translated have been more or less exclusively dependent on the target culture's expectations and interests.

One exception—albeit an important one—in this respect concerns the translation activities that take place as part of missionary programmes. In this case, it is obviously not the target culture that determines the selection of texts to be translated, but rather the source culture. Toury's postulation that translations are “facts of the target culture only” presumably needs to be reconsidered on this particular point. One might argue that these translations also function solely in the target culture, but would have to concede that the selection of texts and the way they are formulated, as in the case of the Jesuitical debate on accommodation, are controlled by the mechanisms and conditions of the source culture rather than by those of the target culture.¹¹

If we leave aside this important special case, we can say that the target culture's expectations and interests which control translations have proven to be largely independent not merely of what could be regarded as the intrinsic qualities of the source text (the literary or artistic potential for innovation, originality, etc.) but also of its meaning in the source culture. To take an example from Italian studies: Why does a classic text of late eighteenth-century Italian literature such as Giuseppe Parini's *Il Giorno* exist in German only in a highly obscure relay translation via the French, while there are now a dozen different translations of Manzoni's *Promessi sposi*? One might answer that this is due to Manzoni's greater modernity, and in the process would have brought a new category into play that does indeed significantly influence the interest in translations in contemporary cultures. In the case of Parini and Manzoni, this aspect may derive its effect above all with respect to historical genre. While Parini's criticism of Italian aristocratic society might even seem more modern in terms of social history than Manzoni's providentialist Catholicism, the reception of Parini in other European countries may well have suffered in particular from his use of the epic poem as a genre. Manzoni, in contrast, relied on the novel genre, which would prove to be the future of litera-

⁹ See Barbian (1993) as an example of this, pp. 187–194.

¹⁰ Rundle (2010), for instance, details the failure of all attempts by Fascist cultural policy to associate literary imports by means of *intraduction* with a corresponding literary export, namely *extraduction*.

¹¹ The debate about accommodation known as the Chinese Rites controversy, which flared up between Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, concerned the extent to which the mission should be permitted to adapt the belief system of those being missionized. This understandably also had far-reaching consequences for the way in which Christian texts such as catechisms were translated into a particular target language. On this see Kiaer et al. (2022).

ture both in Italy and elsewhere. The question of modernity admittedly reaches its limits when we note that half a dozen translations of the medieval *Divina Commedia* by Dante have appeared in Germany in the last two decades alone. So we can assume that other factors have to be considered too. In the case of our Parini example this might well concern how much of a link exists between the source culture and the cultural or real-life experience of the target audience. This would help to explain why Parini, who was strongly influenced by the French Enlightenment, was translated into French (and English) but less into German. The German interest in Manzoni, by contrast, may well have been due to his contacts with Goethe and his early reception in Goethe's circle of acquaintances.

It is obvious that there are very different kinds of mechanisms filtering the perception and interest in foreign literature and cultures. But it is likewise clear that even where the corresponding translating decisions and strategies remain unarticulated, they direct the analytical interest to the underlying framework of social and cultural power structures.

The first and foremost mechanism here is undoubtedly the implicit or explicit prestige of a work, an author, or a culture. Of course, this prestige often reflects objective geopolitical power relationships and cultural spheres of influence. Yet it is equally the product of social value systems, hierarchies and canons in the target culture. The fact that Arabic scholars translated Greek philosophy and science attests to the first of these. But their translation of the Peripatetic philosopher Alexander of Aphrodisias and the Pythagorean Nicomachus of Gerasa, but not Sophocles, Aeschylus, or Euripides is evidence of the latter, testifying to a virtual autonomy from the standards of the source culture. It is also true of the Early Modern period: the number of translations is an unmistakable indicator of shifts in prestige and power imbalances within European cultures. But what is perceived by a particular foreign culture and is received in translation, i.e. what is specifically found interesting, is essentially a product of the target culture's patterns of perception.

Among these patterns of perception, foreignness or otherness and exoticism certainly play a particular role, but perceptions of demarcation and threat should not be underestimated either. Although these patterns can be found in almost all cultures, they are especially inscribed in Early Modern translation cultures, with their increasing efforts to map and appropriate the entire world via translation. The question of filters immediately follows on from questions about authorial empowerment, which have emerged from postcolonial studies to become a core focus. In this respect, the question of who is speaking and the question of who (by means of translation) is accorded the right to speak (even if not in his or her own language),¹² is a question of power par excellence.

¹² See Spivak (1994).

2.2 Calculation

One succinct example of these associations is provided by the translation history of the *Comentarios reales* (1609/1617) by the mestizo Garcilaso Inca de la Vega in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The work, which is generally regarded as the first published document of pre-Columbian societies and the conquest of America from an Indigenous perspective—and as one of the few such existing pieces of evidence at all—has its roots in a complex process of translation, namely the detailed interpretation of Quechua terms and the transfer of orally transmitted bodies of Inca knowledge into Spanish and the European script. Translated into French by Jean Baudouin in 1633 (Paris: Courbé), the *Comentarios reales* would make its own ‘triumphal entry’ into France and western Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century thanks to the Enlightenment and its utilitarian ideas, and a fascination with the ‘exotic’ colonial world outside Europe. Improved or completely new translations of the Spanish work were successively published in Amsterdam (Kuyper, 1704) and Paris (Prault fils, 1744). In his preface, the translator of the Paris edition notes about the source text:

We are of the opinion that it can be of great use to society on account of the wonderful examples it contains testifying to the goodness, gentleness, justice, and moderation of the sovereign, and the docility, submissiveness, devotion, and respect shown by the subjects. (Transl. Tradukas)¹³

The Dutch publisher states in turn: “There are few people of letters who do not know that the *Histoire des Yncas, & de la Conquête du Pérou* is as curious as it is rare.” [Transl. Tradukas].¹⁴

Both quotations refer to the “preliminary norms” of translating Garcilaso Inca’s text. At the same time, cultural compatibility is linked to a further aspect, namely calculation in the sense of having a strategic economic interest in the translation. The text continues:

Whether in French or in Spanish, it [the *Comentarios reales*] has long been found only in a few private libraries, and the excessively high price paid for the text at auctions demonstrates the necessity of republishing it. [Transl. Tradukas]¹⁵

The high demand for Garcilaso Inca’s text led the publishers to have high hopes that it would turn a profit. This aspect of calculation should be considered both

¹³“L’on a jugé qu’il pouvoit être fort utile à la société à cause des grands exemples qu’il présente, de bonté, de douceur, de justice, & de modération de la part des Souverains, de docilité, de soumission, d’attachement & de respect de la part des Sujets.”, Garcilaso de la Vega (1744), vol. 1, p. ix.

¹⁴“Il y a peu de Gens de Lettres, qui ne sachent que l’*Histoire des Yncas, & de la Conquête du Pérou* est aussi curieuse, qu’elle est rare.”, Garcilaso de la Vega (1704), vol. 1, no page.

¹⁵“On ne la trouve plus depuis long temps, soit en François ou en Espagnol, que dans les Bibliothèques de quelques Particuliers; & le prix excessif qu’on en donne aux Auctions, fait bien voir la nécessité qu’il y avoit de la publier de nouveau.”, Garcilaso de la Vega (1704), vol. 1, no page.

with respect to the producers or initiators of translations and to the recipients. Moreover, it comes into play both as economic capital and as the cultural, social, and symbolic capital identified by Bourdieu.¹⁶ The prospect of economic gain and/or renown played a role in the publisher's decision for or against a translation, just as any existing social capital in the form of contacts to experienced translators and networks would also be taken into account. In terms of the target market, a publisher would want to scrutinize the economic and cultural capital of the intended readership as much as their potential wish to generate symbolic capital by acquiring translated works—which could include texts, graphic works, and even maps. The economic and cultural capital in particular influenced the formal and material shape that translated works took with regard to their scope and format, the linguistic or aesthetic register they used, the retention or relinquishment of *termini tecnici*, the addition of glossaries and illustrations, etc. Jean-Baptiste Ladvocat's *Dictionnaire géographique-portatif*, for example, was a French geographical pocket dictionary (2nd ed., Paris, 1747) that was originally printed in octavo format. The Spanish translation (Madrid, 1750), however, appeared in the less convenient quarto format—a decision that the publisher justified by citing the constrictions of Spanish book production (such as an absence of certain printing types) as well as the preferences of the Spanish readership, which, he claimed, unlike the French audience was not interested in a pocket dictionary while travelling, but would gladly make use of a geographical work of reference while reading newspapers and histories.¹⁷

Presenting these aspects allowed not only the translator but also the publisher to take centre stage as key figures in translation projects of the Early Modern period. He acted as an “entrepreneur of translation”,¹⁸ who was able to tap into a global market by means of translation into various vernaculars or else pursue this goal by selecting a *lingua franca* (such as Latin or French). In many cases this kind of calculation by the publisher dovetailed with the power mechanisms and cultural compatibility sketched out above. To give one further example: encyclopaedic and scholarly texts of the Early Modern period would often contain an assurance that the translated work had been adapted to suit the target audience, which can be understood both as a means of advertising to increase turnover *and* as making a concession to cultural expectations and to what could (or could not) be said as determined by the discourse.

A comparative analysis of the source text and the translation could direct the focus towards the relationship between the different translation policies. Where do the premises of cultural integrability and economic calculation intersect? Where do they come into conflict with each other? Are there cases where something that is resistant/contrary (‘foreign’, ‘exotic’) or inexpressible (forbidden, taboo) in the source

¹⁶ See Bourdieu (1979), Bourdieu (1983).

¹⁷ See the “Advertencia del Traductor” in De la Serna und Ladvocat (1750), no page.

¹⁸ Van Groesen (2012).

text becomes an element of the publisher's translation policy? Where are procedures of "exoticizing translation",¹⁹ i.e. the deliberate transnational production of cultural differences between the object and subject of the reception (e.g. by not translating expressions from other languages), applied as a strategic means of increasing people's desire to read a text and their interest in purchasing it? And conversely, where does the translation fail—even though from a publishing and/or political point of view (see below) it may well have made a profit—when confronted with the 'resistance' of the source text; in other words, where are the source and target cultures unbridgeable? And last but not least, attention must also be paid to translation projects that remained incomplete, i.e. ventures that foundered because of insufficient cultural, social, or economic capital on the part of the publisher and/or translator: perhaps due to financial resources being exhausted, subscribers failing to materialize, the absence of networks, or simply the commissioned translator lacking linguistic or cultural familiarity with the semiotic systems of the 'source text' (in the broadest sense of the term) and the target culture.

Addressing the matter more specifically from the perspective of the history of books or art, the aspect of calculation brings a material dimension to the fore. Compared with the source text, additions in the form of illustrations, cartographic material, embellishments, or ornamentation (or conversely, an absence of the same) become an integral element of translation policy—and hence of the critical analysis of it too. Where has capital in the narrower sense, and hence power, been generated not only by possession of the information contained within the translation but also by the purely material nature of the object? In which form did paratexts ultimately become an instrument for the translator to promote themselves as co-author, thereby serving as a means of empowerment? Did the translator reflect in the preface on his or her own role in the translated work; or did he or she choose additions to enhance the value of the translated work in comparison with the source text?

These considerations raise the question of the value placed on translations *per se* by a society at a specific point in time—in other words, the symbolic and cultural capital that they were basically accorded. This perspective includes the state promoting translations from other languages into its own vernacular just as much as the converse situation of retrospectively condemning translation activity as a 'servile imitation', which was how the 'afrancesamiento' movement was characterized in nineteenth-century Spain.²⁰

¹⁹ See Venuti (2008) on this point.

²⁰ The term "afrancesados" ('friends of the French') was used in Spain to refer to compatriots who favoured France during Bourbon rule (Charles III of Spain). In the context of the French Revolution and Napoleonic rule (José I.), and after the War of Independence (known as the "Guerra de la Independencia Española", 1808–1814) the term was clearly pejorative. Conservative nationalists used it in the nineteenth century in order to retrospectively reject phenomena of French–Spanish cultural transfer that had occurred in scholarly, cultural, and literary spheres in the eighteenth century ("neoclassicismo"), labelling them as 'unspanish' ("no castizo"). Translations and adaptations of French works, styles, and fashions were discredited as "afrancesamiento" (which translates roughly as 'aping the French').

2.3 Diplomacy

As indicated above, within the context of this volume the field of diplomacy metonymically represents all forms of political communication in its narrow sense. From the Early Modern period onwards, translations thereby became a key tool in exercising dominion around the globe. While in medieval Europe translations of administrative or juridical texts already played a subordinate role due to the absolute predominance of Latin, during the transition from the late Middle Ages to the Early Modern period they increasingly became an everyday component of political practice, largely as the linguistic standardization and grammaticalization of vernacular languages progressed, swiftly followed by the vernacularization of the language of European administration. The link between grammaticalization and exercising power is expressed most clearly in the first ever grammar of a European vernacular language, namely Nebrija's *Gramática castellana* of 1492, which was tellingly published in the same year that Columbus 'discovered' America. In the preface to this grammar, Nebrija addresses the Spanish king with the following words:

For soon Your Majesty will have imposed your yoke upon many barbarian peoples and foreign-tongued nations, and after the victory they will be compelled to accept the laws that the conqueror decrees for the conquered, and thus our language too, of which they should acquire knowledge by means of my grammar [...]. [Transl. Tradukas]²¹

It is this triad of grammaticalization, textualization, and media distribution through the invention of the printing press at the threshold of the Early Modern period that creates the modern notion of national languages as, in the words of Ivan Illich, the "separate and distinct cages in which we today think we are locked."²² And it is precisely this notion that produces the cultures of translation primarily addressed by SPP 2130 'Early Modern Translation Cultures'. Thus it is clear that political dimensions—and this is very much meant in the narrower definition—do not somehow become contingently attached to the issue of translation, but rather pervade the topic from the very start, as it were.

This applies not only to the way that states communicate with their subjects or with the peoples they rule, not only within a framework of internal communication between governments, and not only in economic relationships, but also in the contact between cultures and civilizations. Some key pieces of the jigsaw puzzle in these almost invariably asymmetrical communicative relationships pertaining to translation in the Early Modern period will be addressed in the articles that follow: translations as an instrument of power in the context of the Jesuit mission or

²¹ "que después que vuestra Alteza metiese debaxo de su iugo muchos pueblos bárbaros y naciones de peregrinas lenguas: y con el vencimiento aquellos tenían necesidad de recibir las leyes: quel vencedor pone al vencido y con ellas nuestra lengua: entonces por esta mi Arte podrían venir en el conocimiento della [...]", Nebrija (1926), Prefacio.

²² Illich und Sanders (1989), p. 62.

Protestant missionary societies; the importance of translations in Spanish colonial policy in what we call today Mexico from the sixteenth century onwards; or the creation of maps of Japan against a background of Russian imperial policy in East Asia. These all reveal that in addition to the linguistic dimension in the narrower sense, there are paraverbal and nonverbal codes, rituals, maps, paintings, and architecture that play a crucial role in the processes of translation, decoding, and interpretation being examined here. And of course, all these processes also involve the question of how certain forms of alterity are constructed.

2.4 About the Articles

The volume starts with three articles on the thematic focus of *Calculation between Politics and Policy*.

Helge Perplies looks at the bilingual *India Occidentalis* collection from the Dutch publisher De Bry as a corpus based on multiple cultural, linguistic, and intermedial translation processes. Accounts of journeys through America in other languages were made accessible to a wider German-speaking audience in their vernacular German version, while at the same time Latin, in its capacity as a *lingua franca*, was aimed at a European readership. This collection of texts, which has long been interpreted as a Protestant propaganda tool, is now being examined from a new perspective: the article shows that the De Bry family, with an eye to their European and potentially Catholic target market, expunged some of the explosive religious and political potency from the source texts. At the same time, domesticating and exoticizing processes were applied to the translation in order to render it culturally compatible and arouse curiosity. Just as the authors determined how and to what extent cultural knowledge was translated from the ‘new’ to the ‘old world’, so too did the publishers act as ‘gatekeepers’ who tailored their collection to the market by selecting and editing the source texts.

Situated at the intersection of colonial discourse and translation practice, Martina Schrader-Kniffki, Yannic Klamp, and Malte Kneifel analyse Spanish–Zapotec missionary and notary texts dating from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in Central America. Starting with the linguistic aspects, they reconstruct specific translation processes, whereby social categorizations of the Indigenous American population are reflected by the colonial metropolises of Spain. The classification of the Indigenous people as *personas miserables* (“miserable persons”) and their concomitant legal status as wards led to some ambiguous effects: on the one hand, the metropolitan discourse assigned the Indigenous population to a place at the bottom of the social hierarchy, while on the other hand it gave them scope for action and thus empowerment: the Spanish image of the Indigenous population as *personas miserables* was adopted by the very people it labelled and strategically applied in juridical contexts, in order—within a situation governed by asymmetrical power relationships—to influence legal decisions. Colonial discourse and the

external view of Indigenous people thus functioned as norms that shaped translation practices in New Spain in both directions.

Caroline Mannweiler uses the example of scholarly eighteenth-century translation from German to French to show how texts which were supposed to safeguard industrial competitiveness in the target culture, specifically in this case on the subject of optimizing local ore mining, also became the setting for a symbolic competition between (national) communities. The article draws attention to the paratexts of French translations, where an attempt is made to counter the scholarly relevance of the German source texts by invoking their 'own' [i.e. French] qualities by way of compensation, as it were, deploying the symbolic capital of French, among other things. The second thematic focus is *Cultural Filters*, which is represented by a total of six articles. Regina Toepfer concentrates on literary adaptations of ancient narrative material in sixteenth-century Germany, specifically Augsburg. Her article investigates Johannes Spreng's treatment of the Europa and Alcyone myths from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, addressing the cultural filters of the Early Modern German bourgeoisie with respect to the gender-specific norms through which the narrative ancient world was perceived, and which were responsible for a translation that reinterpreted the female figures. A comparative analysis reveals the literary techniques and linguistic process used by Spreng to transform Ovid's heroines into German 'housewives'.

Elena Parina examines religious manuscripts from the so-called 'Glamorgan School of Translation', which comprise a corpus whose translation from English or Latin into Welsh has hitherto been primarily viewed as evidence of a kind of religious resistance among Catholic circles in Wales to the widescale enforcement of Protestantism in the Elizabethan age. The article takes a contrasting stance, arguing for more nuance in the hypothesis that these works have a clear, political pro-Catholic function. Some of the manuscripts turn out to be translations of pre-Reformation texts that cannot easily be classified within the context of confessional debates; in other cases, comparing the translation with the source text shows no evidence of a clear anti-Protestant position. Other aspects come to the fore with respect to the cultural filter of the translations, such as everyday piety and the conservatism of the target audience in the peripherally situated region of Wales.

Giulia Nardini looks at translations in the context of seventeenth-century Jesuit missions in South India. Her article views the mission as a contact zone, where differences are negotiated and cultural boundaries are transgressed or drawn. The mission situation proves to be a translation zone par excellence: descriptions of religious practices can be interpreted as documents of cultural transfer, or, vice versa, in terms of the incommensurability of cultural systems of signs and symbols. The example of the *Informatio de quibusdam moribus nationis Indicae* by Roberto Nobili, an Italian missionary in India, illustrates forms of cultural translation outlined as the mediation of specific collective value and symbolic systems. Nobili's work, in which he petitioned the Roman Catholic church to support his mission, translated the practices and hierarchies of the Brahmins to suit the linguistic, religious, and social codes and registers of his target audience.

The role of book culture in the context of the Jesuit mission in Japan is at the heart of the article by Katja Triplett. Japanese prints produced by the Jesuits at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century are evidence of early attempts to translate both well-known and recently written texts for the Catholic mission in Japan. The article investigates the cultural filters that determined which texts were selected for translation and the way in which central Catholic teachings were presented. Letters and reports from Jesuit missionaries about translation policy, censorship, and cultural accommodation are analysed alongside printed Japanese translations of Thomas à Kempis' popular devotional book *Contemptus mundi*.

In the article by Víctor de Castro León and Alberto Tiburcio the volume turns to cartography and the result of translation processes. The two authors focus on the sixteenth-century cartographic work of the North African Alī al-Sharafī and its relationship to the medieval chorography *Nuzhat* by the Arabic geographer al-Idrīsī. Starting from a multifaceted definition of translation as linguistic, intermedial, and cultural, the study presents al-Sharafī as a creative translator who adapted textual and visual quotations from al-Idrīsī's work and interlaced them with other cartographic sources and traditions. Transcriptions are invoked from the geographical description onto the map's semiotic system, from the category of world map onto that of Portolan chart, and the shift in perspective from the world to the Mediterranean region. The processes of selection and translation that are foregrounded here thus evince multiple filters.

Cartography is also the focus of the article by Michaela Kästl, who looks at the third edition of Matteo Ricci's world map (*Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*). Kästl analyses Ricci's map as the result of processes of cultural negotiation and bilateral translation, concluding that it links the traditions of European Jesuitry and Chinese scholarship with the respective cartographic representations, which is why the map is re-embedded within both contexts of cultural history—and hence the respective implicit translation filter, too. The work's collaborative construction process is manifested in the simultaneity and overlapping of various cultural and semiotic systems on the map. Given this background, Ricci's map itself can be interpreted as a space for encounter and as a translation zone.

While that article provides an example of a successful translation between the European and Asian cultural spaces and between each of their cartographic traditions and norms, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and Ekaterina Simonova-Gudzenko present a case of missing translation between Asian and European cartography. Their analysis of the maps of Japan by Daikokuya Kodayu introduces the third and final thematic focus, namely *Diplomacy and Power Structures*.

The article traces the genesis of the cartographic manuscripts, starting from individual events in Kodayu's life—a Japanese man who was shipwrecked in the 1780s and ended up at the Russian court, where he was commissioned to produce maps. The documents, which were supposed to serve Russia's political interests, remain a curiosity nonetheless: although the maps do contain linguistic translations, the graphic elements have not been transposed to a representational system that would have been familiar to Europeans. The article attributes this to

the irreconcilability of the cartographic practices in Japan and Europe. In doing so it poses a fundamental question about the limits of translatability, or indeed the potential untranslatability of cultural sign, symbol, and value systems.

Mark Häberlein and Paula Manstetten focus on translation projects in the context of Protestant missions around 1700, specifically the activities of the pietistic Glauchasche Anstalten in Halle and the Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). The article highlights the central role that translations were accorded in establishing networks between actors with respect to a common supranational mission policy: they made transnational communication possible, supported the reciprocal reception of writings and the mutual support of missionary activities, and last but not least they referenced shared notions of Protestant piety. The SPCK drew sufficient political strength from this kind of networking to commission the publication of the New Testament in Arabic—which added a further aspect to the complexity of Protestant translation policy.

Finally, there is Christina Strunck's article examining the Royal Hospital in Chelsea, whose architecture and paintings—particularly the monumental mural by Antonio Verrio—can be interpreted as a complex project rooted in the visual artistic and political rivalry with France. Verrio made use of a French text, namely Roland Fréart de Chambray's *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne*, in the translated version by John Evelyn, in order to outdo the building's French model—the Hôtel des Invalides—by basing it on Antique archetypes. Set against a background of the interlingual Fréart translation, the transfer processes analysed are interpreted in a variety of ways as inter- and intramedial translation processes.

The volume concludes with an afterword by Antje Flüchter and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink containing further considerations on the complex topic of translation politics and policy in the Early Modern period.

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Kapitel 3

Die Verleger de Bry als Übersetzer von Übersetzungen



Helge Perplies

3.1 Postkoloniale Perspektiven

Ein komplexes Projekt wie die *India Occidentalis*-Sammlung aus der Werkstatt der Verlegerfamilie de Bry bedingt eine fast unüberschaubare Zahl an Vermittlungsprozessen: Diese beginnen mit dem Erleben der Reisenden und dessen Verschriftlichung – in welchem Verhältnis Erlebtes und Geschriebenes tatsächlich stehen, sei hier einmal dahingestellt – und münden in einer erneuten Rezeption und Präsentation durch die Verleger, inklusive der Auswahl, Anordnung und Bearbeitung der Texte sowie der Herstellung der berühmten Kupferstiche der Sammlung. Zahlreiche dieser Vermittlungsprozesse lassen sich in mehr oder weniger engem Verständnis des Begriffs als Übersetzungen lesen. Dazu zählen neben Übersetzungen von gesprochener Rede oder geschriebenen Texten auch Übersetzungen von „Denkweisen, (fremden) Weltbildern und differenten Praktiken.“¹ Auch eine solche Übersetzung oder Repräsentation stellt aber in der Regel – Talad Asad schreibt „unvermeidlich“² – ein textliches Konstrukt dar, das „auf der jeweiligen Darstellungsautorität gründet, auf den damit verbundenen Konventionen der Darstellung [...] sowie auf dem Einsatz rhetorischer Erzählstrategien.“³

¹ Bachmann-Medick (1997), S. 5. unter Verweis auf die *Writing-Culture*-Debatten.

² Asad (1993), S. 330.

³ Bachmann-Medick (1997), S. 6.

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Zwischen 1590 und 1634 erschienen insgesamt vierzehn Bände mit Reiseberichten über Amerika, herausgegeben von dem Goldschmied, Kupferstecher und Verleger Theodor de Bry und seinen Erben.⁴ Zeitgenössisch wurde die Sammlung als *India Occidentalis* oder *America* bezeichnet, in der Forschung ist sie auch als *Grands Voyages* bekannt. Wie die meisten der Publikationen aus der Werkstatt de Bry ist die Sammlung reich illustriert mit Kupferstichen, welche die de Brys selbst herstellten und die bis heute als vermeintlich authentische Darstellungen das Bild von der europäischen Kolonisierung prägen – dies gilt besonders für die Landung des Kolumbus auf Guanahani, die in dieser Form auch heute noch in Schulbüchern auftaucht.⁵

Die Liste der Autoren der abgedruckten Werke umfasst Engländer, Franzosen, Deutsche, Spanier, Italiener, Portugiesen und Holländer. Die Bände der Sammlungen wurden zum überwiegenden Teil jeweils auf Deutsch und Latein veröffentlicht – der erste Band zusätzlich auf Englisch und Französisch –, wobei es zwischen den Fassungen einige Unterschiede und Verschiebungen gibt. Dabei wurden auf der einen Seite viele fremdsprachige Texte erstmals auf Deutsch gedruckt, wodurch die Vielfalt der europäischen Kolonisierung Amerikas in den deutschen Sprachraum eingeführt wurde. Auf der anderen Seite wurden viele der volkssprachigen Texte erstmals auf Latein veröffentlicht und somit einem europäischen Publikum zugänglich gemacht.⁶ Die de Brys schufen damit – um einen Begriff von Stephen Greenblatt aufzugreifen – eine europäische Repräsentation.⁷

Dies zeigt bereits die enorme Zahl an Übersetzungen im engeren Sinne, die für die Herstellung der *India Occidentalis*-Sammlung notwendig war. Michiel van Groesen hat die de Brys – in Anlehnung an Peter Burke – als „Entrepreneurs of Translation“ bezeichnet und in seinem gleichnamigen Aufsatz die Übersetzungspolitik als „cornerstone of the careful editorial policy“⁸ der Werkstatt beschrieben. Die ‚translation policy‘ der de Brys – verstanden im Sinne Gideon Tourys als „those factors that govern the choice of text-types, even of individual texts, to be imported into a particular culture / language via translation at a particular point in time“⁹ – ist also untrennbar verbunden mit ihrer Auswahl von Texten zur Publikation sowie deren Bearbeitungen.

Neben den Übersetzungen im engeren Sinne lassen sich aber zahlreiche weitere Vermittlungsprozesse aufzeigen. Tatsächlich sind die de Brys gerade an den Transferprozessen von einer Sprache in eine andere kaum selbst beteiligt gewesen, wie van Groesen dargelegt hat. Wenn ich also die de Brys als ‚Übersetzer‘ bezeichne, dann in dem doppelten Sinne, dass sie zum einen viele Übersetzungen

⁴Ausführlich zur Sammlung vgl. van Groesen (2008), Perplies (2017).

⁵Vgl. Bernhard (2013), S. 190–191. Zur ubiquitären Verwendung dieses Stiches vgl. Greve (2004), S. 9.

⁶Vgl. zu den Übersetzungen zwischen Latein und Volkssprache Burke (2007), S. 21.

⁷Vgl. Greenblatt (1991), S. 7–8.

⁸Van Groesen (2013), S. 107. Vgl. Burke (2005), S. 20, Burke (2007), S. 16.

⁹Toury (2012), S. 82.

zwar nicht selbst vorgenommen, aber in Auftrag gegeben und als Verleger letztlich zu verantworten haben, und zum anderen Transferprozesse anderer Art durchgeführt haben. Dazu zählen vor allem die Anpassung ihrer Vorlagen an das jeweilige Zielpublikum ihrer Sammlung, die Rahmung und Umdeutung durch Paratexte wie Titelblätter und Vorreden sowie die Übertragung der Texte in das Medium der Kupferstiche.

3.2 Wer übersetzt?

Aufgrund der skizzierten Vermittlungsprozesse stellt bei der Arbeit mit der *India Occidentalis*-Sammlung die Frage: *Wer schreibt?* – oder, für meine Fragestellung noch entscheidender: *Wer übersetzt?* – eine besondere Herausforderung dar. Ein kurzes Beispiel soll diese Problematik verdeutlichen, bevor ich mich den komplexeren Fragen von Übersetzungspolitik widme.

René de Laudonnière beschreibt in dem Bericht über seine Schifffahrten nach Florida auch die Flora und Fauna, darunter sowohl Arten, die seinem europäischen Publikum vertraut sind, wie Zedern, Zypressen, Lorbeer und Kirschen, als auch solche, die er umschreiben muss. So heißt es in der französischen Fassung des Werkes, die erstmals 1586 in Paris gedruckt wurde: „une petite graine que nous appellons entre nous bleues, qui sont fort bons a manger“;¹⁰ ‚Eine kleine Frucht, die wir unter uns ‚die Blauen‘ nennen, die sind gut zu Essen‘. Es liegt nahe, dass mit dem ‚nous‘ die Gruppe der Reisenden gemeint ist, in der sich Laudonnière bewegt, zugleich ist ‚bleues‘ ein Begriff, der seinem französischen Publikum eine Vorstellung vom Äußeren der fraglichen Frucht liefert.

Die de Brys nehmen Teile des Textes in den zweiten Band ihrer Sammlung auf, der Florida gewidmet ist.¹¹ Dabei wird der französische Text gleich doppelt übersetzt, zunächst ins Lateinische und dann ins Deutsche. Als Übersetzer ins Lateinische ist der bedeutende Botaniker Charles de l’Escluse aus Arras genannt,¹² der, wie es in der Vorrede der de Brys heißt, die verschiedenen französischen Texte geordnet und dann übersetzt habe: „Gallicum Historiae sermonem ille expolivit, & eam deinde Latinam fecit“;¹³ ‚Jener hat die französische Sprache der Erzählung

¹⁰Laudonnière (1586), S. 3. Bei den Zitaten aus frühneuzeitlichen Drucken habe ich die Graphie in Bezug auf Diakritika etc. leicht angepasst. Alle Übersetzungen aus frühneuzeitlichen Drucken stammen von mir und sind so eng wie möglich am Ausgangstext gehalten, ohne Anspruch auf sprachliche Eleganz.

¹¹Zur Auswahl und Bearbeitung des Laudonnièreschen Textes vgl. Perplies (2017), S. 113–149.

¹²Zu l’Escluse als Übersetzer für die de Brys vgl. van Groesen (2013).

¹³*India Occidentalis* II (lat. 1591), Vorrede, S. [2]. Ich markiere Zitate aus der *India Occidentalis*-Sammlung mit dem Titel der Sammlung statt der jeweiligen Autoren, zusammen mit der Nummer des Bandes, der Sprache (dt., lat.) und des Erscheinungsjahres. Bei unpaginierten Passagen ist ein Kurztitel der jeweiligen Abschnittüberschrift oder eine Funktionsbezeichnung

verfeinert und sie dann Lateinisch gemacht‘. In der lateinischen Fassung lautet die oben zitierte Passage folgendermaßen: „quidam fructus palato valde grati, quos Galli Bleues (Germanorum Heydelbeer forte) appellant“;¹⁴ ‚gewisse dem Gaumen sehr angenehme Früchte, welche die Franzosen ‚Bleues‘ nennen (vielleicht die Heidelbeere der Deutschen)‘. Der Übersetzer löst sich hier von der Sprecherposition Laudonnières und schreibt den Gebrauch des Begriffs ‚Bleues‘ nun ‚den Franzosen‘ zu. Damit könnte zwar noch die Gruppe der französischen Reisenden gemeint sein, aber der Zusatz ‚Germanorum Heydelbeer forte‘ macht deutlich, dass der Übersetzer hier an Sprachgemeinschaften denkt. Passend zur Ausrichtung der lateinischen Ausgabe auf einen europäischen Buchmarkt, löst sich der Übersetzer aus einer nationalen Zuordnung heraus.

Besonders deutlich wird dies im Vergleich mit der deutschen Fassung, die von dem Frankfurter Prediger Oseas Halen übersetzt wurde. Hier heißt es: „etliche schlechte Frucht / gar wolgeschmack / welche die Frantzosen Bleues nennen / mögen vielleicht bey uns Teutschen Heydelbeer seyn“.¹⁵ Das Sprecher-Ich positioniert sich eindeutig als Teil der deutschen Sprachgemeinschaft – und sogar *als* Deutscher – und kann damit nicht René de Laudonnière sein. Der Übersetzer nutzt die inklusive Formulierung „uns Teutschen“, um sich selbst in den Text einzuschreiben, möglicherweise auch als Stellvertreter der Verleger de Bry, die sich häufig bemühen, die Relevanz der Reiseberichte und -beschreibungen für das Publikum zu betonen.

Bemerkenswert ist auch die Typographie der Passage in den beiden Ausgaben: In der deutschen Fassung, die in Fraktur gedruckt ist, wird zur Auszeichnung des Begriffs ‚Bleues‘ eine Antiqua-Type verwendet. In der lateinischen Ausgabe, die komplett in Antiqua gesetzt ist, wird an dieser Stelle wie auch sonst zur Auszeichnung von ‚Bleues‘ eine Kursive verwendet – für den Begriff ‚Heydelbeer‘ nutzt der Drucker hingegen Fraktur. Die unterschiedlichen Herkunftssprachen der Begriffe ‚Bleues‘ und ‚Heydelbeer‘ werden also auch im Druckbild markiert.

Zugleich wird deutlich, dass die Übersetzungen auch zusätzliche Informationen bieten, wenn l’Escluse und Halen die Frucht, die Laudonnière nur mit einem beschreibenden Namen versieht, mit einer konkreten europäischen Frucht identifizieren. Alle drei stellen damit eine Nähe zwischen der Frucht und dem Publikum her, die an anderer Stelle in der de Bryschen Sammlung bewusst vermieden wird.

sowie gegebenenfalls die abgezählte Seite in eckigen Klammern angegeben. Mit ‚Vorrede‘ ist, sofern nichts anderes vermerkt ist, das Vorwort der de Brys gemeint.

¹⁴ *India Occidentalis* II (lat. 1591), S. 3.

¹⁵ *India Occidentalis* II (dt. 1591), S. 3.

3.3 Übersetzungen als Marker von Distanz

Besonders deutlich wird dies am Beispiel von Hans Staden's *Warhafftigen Historia*. Dieser Text wurde erstmals 1557 in Marburg gedruckt und von den de Brys in den dritten Band ihrer *India Occidentalis*-Sammlung aufgenommen, der Berichte über Brasilien versammelt. Staden war ein Landsknecht aus Hessen, der in den 1550er Jahren auf zwei Reisen nach Amerika in spanischen und portugiesischen Diensten stand. Sein Reisebericht handelt im Wesentlichen von seiner (angeblichen) Gefangenschaft beim Volk der Tupinamba, wo er, so der Text, in ständiger Angst davor lebte, getötet und verzehrt zu werden. Dementsprechend legt bereits das Titelblatt der Erstausgabe von 1557 einen Schwerpunkt auf den (angeblichen) Brauch der Anthropophagie, nicht nur im Titel, sondern auch in der beigefügten Illustration. Auf dem kleinen Holzschnitt ist ein Indio in einer Hängematte zu sehen, der ein menschliches Bein in der Hand hält, auf einem Rost sind weitere menschlichen Gliedmaßen zu erkennen – allesamt topische Motive. Von besonderem Interesse ist hier ein darüber abgebildetes Spruchband mit der Aufschrift „Sete katu“.¹⁶ Die Äußerung, die dem Indio von dem unbekanntem Illustrator in den Mund gelegt wird, heißt übersetzt ‚Es ist gut‘, was als Floskel während des Essens zu verstehen ist.¹⁷ Bemerkenswert ist, dass die Worte nicht übersetzt werden, weder auf dem Titelblatt noch an einer anderen Stelle im Werk, das Publikum wird also neben Fremdheitsmarkern wie Anthropophagie, Nacktheit und Hängematten auch mit einer unüberwindbaren Sprachdifferenz konfrontiert. Dabei geht es mehr um Fremdheitseffekte als um ein Postulat der Unübersetzbarkeit, denn im Laufe des Werkes thematisiert und überwindet Staden die Sprachbarriere ausdrücklich, etwa wenn es im Zuge seiner Gefangenschaft heißt: „Aprasse / Das Wort verstund ich da nicht / es heist aber tantzen“.¹⁸ Mit Lawrence Venuti lässt sich dieses Vorgehen als *exoticizing translation* bezeichnen, denn im Unterschied zu einer *foreignizing translation* werden hier Werte, Glaubenssätze und Repräsentationen von Staden's Publikum nicht in Frage gestellt. Stattdessen erzeugt sie

a translation effect that signifies cultural difference, usually with reference to specific features of the foreign culture ranging from geography, customs, and cuisine to historical figures and events, along with the retention of foreign place names and proper names as well as the odd foreign word.¹⁹

Neben der Exotisierung kann das Verfahren, Begriffe oder auch ganze Sätze zunächst in der Sprache der Tupi vorzustellen und dann zu übersetzen, als ein rhetorisches Mittel zur Spannungssteigerung verstanden werden, bei dem das Publikum für einen Moment im Ungewissen über das Geschehen gelassen wird.

¹⁶ Staden (1557), Titelblatt.

¹⁷ Übersetzung nach dem Stellenkommentar von Franz Obermeier in Staden (2007), S. 179.

¹⁸ *India Occidentalis* III (dt. 1593), S. 28.

¹⁹ Venuti (2008), S. 160.

Vor allem aber verstärkt es die Rolle des Erzählers Hans Staden als Vermittler der Ereignisse. Er selbst betont seine Augenzeugenschaft, wenn er nach der Beschreibung eines anthropophagen Rituals schreibt: „Diß alles hab ich gesehen und bin darbey gewesen“.²⁰ Als entsetzter und hilfloser Beobachter wird er nicht nur zur wertenden Instanz, sondern seine Anwesenheit beim Ritual ermöglicht dem Publikum die Einnahme seines Blickwinkels, der durch die Illustrationen, auf denen er zu sehen ist, zusätzlich beglaubigt wird. Dieser Fokus auf das Visuelle im Allgemeinen und auf Stadens Rolle als Zuschauer im Speziellen darf aber die Bedeutung des Akustischen und seine Rolle als Zuhörer nicht überdecken. Staden berichtet von zahlreichen Gesprächen mit Indigenen, außerdem von Gesängen, Kriegsrufen und Klagelauten, für die er der Gewährsmann des Publikums ist, einschließlich der häufig mitgelieferten, aber in der Regel nachgestellten Übersetzungen. Er nennt dabei unter anderem die indigenen Namen von Orten, Völkern, Gegenständen, Tieren und Pflanzen, aber nicht systematisch (wie etwa Jean de Léry, siehe unten), sondern situativ im Kontext ihres jeweiligen Auftauchens in der Erzählung. Staden bedient sich auch selbst der Sprache der Indigenen, beispielsweise wenn nach seiner Gefangennahme den Frauen des Dorfes zurufen muss: „A Iunesche been ermi vramme. Das ist: Ich ewer Essenspeise komme.“²¹ Er lässt auf diese Weise sein Publikum in der Metropole an der indigenen Sprache teilhaben, fungiert also als *go-between* zwischen den verschiedenen kulturellen und sprachlichen Sphären, wie Alida Metcalf herausgearbeitet hat: „a traveler and cultural intermediary; a translator and an interpreter of one world to another“.²² Die Aneignung der indigenen Sprache als rhetorisches Mittel durch den Vertreter der Metropole ist dabei das Gegenstück zu postkolonialen Schreibstrategien, bei denen die Verwendung unübersetzter Begriffe durch Autor*innen der kolonisierten Kultur in der Sprache der Metropole als widerständiger Akt verstanden wird.²³ Staden bleibt zudem stets in seiner Rolle als *gate-keeper*, der entscheidet, welche Informationen dem Publikum präsentiert werden. So stammt das vermittelte Vokabular vorrangig aus den Themenbereichen, die ohnehin vorherrschend sind, nämlich Anthropophagie und Idolatrie.

Ganz anders geht der spätere calvinistische Geistliche Jean de Léry vor, der kurz nach Staden in Brasilien war, allerdings auf der anderen Seite des aus Europa importierten Konflikts von Spaniern und Portugiesen mit den Franzosen.²⁴ Das hält die de Brys jedoch nicht davon ab, seinen Bericht, der erstmals 1578 auf Französisch veröffentlicht wurde, neben Stadens Text im dritten Band ihrer Sammlung abzdrukken. Léry lebte als Gast unter den Tupinamba und sein Bericht enthält ein langes Kapitel, das ein Gespräch zwischen ihm und einem Indigenen zweisprachig wiedergibt. Zur Betonung der Authentizität verweist Léry auf die Hilfe

²⁰ *India Occidentalis* III (dt. 1593), S. 87. Zur Stelle vgl. Kiening (2000), S. 496.

²¹ *India Occidentalis* III (dt. 1593), S. 26.

²² Metcalf (2008), S. 71.

²³ Vgl. Ashcroft et al. (2009), S. 63–65.

²⁴ Vgl. Perplies (2011). Grundlegend zu Léry immer noch Lestringant (2009/2016).

eines „Dolmetschen / der die Americanische Sprach perfect außreden kundt“.²⁵ In dem Gespräch präsentiert Léry nicht nur Begrüßungsfloskeln für einen friedlichen Erstkontakt, sondern führt lange, zweisprachige Listen an Nahrungsmitteln, Pflanzen, Tieren, meteorologischen Phänomenen, Körperteilen und Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen; dazu kommt ein kurzer Grammatikteil mit Beispielen. Wo Staden also seinem Publikum nur einen engen Einblick in die Sprache der Tupinamba bietet, der zudem auf die Bereiche konzentriert ist, in denen Momente von Alterität besonders ausgeprägt sind – indigener Glauben und Anthropophagie –, eröffnet Léry verschiedene Dialogmöglichkeiten, indem er seinem Publikum das nötige Werkzeug für ein zumindest rudimentäres Gespräch an die Hand gibt. Auch wenn nur äußerst wenige Leser*innen von Lérys Werk das so erworbene Wissen tatsächlich praktisch genutzt haben dürften und die Aufnahme des Gesprächs in Text wohl eher als Ausweis seiner ethnographischen Autorität gedient hat,²⁶ bietet Léry seinem Publikum hier eine Möglichkeit zur Annäherung an die Tupinamba.

Léry übersetzt aber nicht nur die indigene Sprache, er ordnet auch indigene Praktiken wesentlich klarer in einen europäischen Kontext ein, als es bei Hans Staden der Fall ist. Wie schon bei der Sprache wahrt Staden die Distanz und macht kulturelle Praktiken zu Markern von Fremdheit. Léry hingegen macht Bezüge zu europäischem Verhalten selbst dort explizit, wo es um eindeutig negativ konnotierte Aspekte wie Teufelsbesessenheit oder Anthropophagie geht. Die Teufelsbesessenheit thematisiert Léry im Kontext der religiösen Vorstellungen und Bräuche der Tupinamba, wo er einen rituellen Gesang folgendermaßen beschreibt:

Da hörten wir die Weiber eben dasselbige Wörtlein darauff so baldt mit zitternder Stimme repetirn, und nachsingen / he he he, etc. [...] Sie heuleten nicht allein über die massen gewlich / sondern sprangen darzu auch mit gewalt auff / zerschüttelten die Brüste / hatten einen Schaum vor dem Maul / und etliche fielen auff den Boden / nicht anderß als wenn sie die grosse Kranckheiten hetten. Darumb ich gänzlich glaubte / der Teuffel sey damals gar in sie gefahren / und seyen so baldt besessen worden.²⁷

Es ist offensichtlich, dass hier Beschreibungstopoi europäischer Hexen anklingen, was Léry mit intertextuellen Verweisen auf Jean Bodins *Démonomanie des Sorciers* (1580) belegt, dessen Abhandlungen über den Hexensabbat Léry im Folgenden zitiert.²⁸ Denn Hexen, so liest Léry bei Bodin, kämen nie zusammen, ohne zu tanzen, wobei „sie alle mit einander schreyen / Har / Har / welches denn gar wol mit unserem Americanischen he, he, ubereinstimmet.“²⁹

²⁵ *India Occidentalis* III (dt. 1593), S. 248.

²⁶ In seiner literarischen Fehde mit dem Hofkosmographen André Thevet erhebt Léry unter anderem den Vorwurf, dieser habe nicht die nötige Sprachkompetenz besessen, um Aussagen über die indigene Lebensweise treffen zu können (*India Occidentalis* III (dt. 1593), Vorrede Lérys, S. [8]). Zum Begriff der ethnographischen Autorität vgl. Clifford (1993).

²⁷ *India Occidentalis* III (dt. 1593), S. 219.

²⁸ Vgl. Bodin (1580), f. 87^v–88^r. Léry erweitert sein Werk über mehrere Auflagen hinweg, der Verweis auf Bodin ist ab 1580 enthalten. Vgl. zur Stelle Perplies (2022), S. 11–17.

²⁹ *India Occidentalis* III (dt. 1593), S. 219.

Auch die Anthropophagie ist nicht auf die Indigenen beschränkt. Ausführlich berichtet Léry von historischen europäischen Beispielen, die, wie er ausdrücklich schreibt, das böse Verhalten der Indios mildern, also die essentialistische Differenz nivellieren und Europäer und indigene Amerikaner einander annähern.³⁰ Darüber hinaus greift er in seinen Werken wiederholt auf eigene Erfahrungen während der Belagerung von Sancerre zurück, wo eine hungernde Familie ihr gestorbenes Kind verzehrt hatte. Léry lässt keinen Zweifel an seiner Abscheu und vermutet eine teuflische Eingebung – wiederum klingen hier Elemente europäischer Hexenangst an, wenn es in seiner Darstellung eine alte Frau ist, die ihrem Mann den Plan vorschlägt.³¹ Auch in Amerika beschreibt Léry die alten Frauen als diejenigen, die mit dem größten Genuss am kannibalistischen Ritus teilnehmen, während das zentrale Motiv der Männer die Rache an ihren Feinden ist. Léry unterscheidet also zwei Formen von Anthropophagie anhand der damit verbundenen Motivation: Einerseits Hunger oder auch die Lust am Verzehr von Menschen, also das Verzehren zum Selbstzweck; andererseits Rache, die das Verzehren auf einen symbolischen Akt reduziert.³²

3.4 Anthropophage Eucharistie

Léry differenziert hier das Stereotyp des indigenen Kannibalen und stärkt damit zugleich seine koloniale Position in mehrfacher Hinsicht: Zum einen sichert erst die Ambivalenz die Wiederholbarkeit des Stereotyps in sich wandelnden Kontexten und Diskursen.³³ Zum anderen verlagert Léry die essentialistische Differenz zwischen Europäern und amerikanischen Indigenen auf Protestanten und Katholiken, wobei er die legitime Herrschaft über die Kolonien den Protestanten zuspricht.³⁴ In seiner Diskussion der verschiedenen Formen von Anthropophagie klingt zudem ein Nachhall jener Debatte über das richtige Verständnis der Eucharistie an, die zum Konflikt innerhalb der französischen Kolonie führte. Léry gehörte zu einer Gruppe reformierter Kolonisten, die streng der Lehre Johannes Calvins folgten, während die Anführer der Kolonie, vor allem Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, zwischen den Konfessionen schwankten. Villegagnon hielt auch an dem Dogma der Realpräsenz Christi in Brot und Wein fest, das von den Calvinisten strikt abgelehnt wurde. Léry, der sich auf rhetorische Lesarten der Bibel verstand und den Frank Lestringant als „tropist“, a lover of tropes“³⁵ bezeichnet hat, findet drastische Worte: „non seulement ils vouloyent manger grossierement plustost que

³⁰Vgl. *India Occidentalis* III (dt. 1593), S. 196, weitere Beispiele S. 200–212.

³¹Vgl. Lestringant (1997), S. 74–80.

³²Vgl. *India Occidentalis* III (dt. 1593), S. 184, 196.

³³Vgl. Bhabha (2004), S. 95.

³⁴Vgl. Lestringant (1995).

³⁵Lestringant (1997), S. 71.

spirituellement la chair de Iesus Christ, mais que pis est à la maniere des Sauvages nommez Ou-etacas, [...] ils la vouloyent mascher & avaler toute crue.³⁶, sie wollten das Fleisch Christi nicht nur in grober statt in geistlicher Weise essen, sondern, was noch schlimmer ist, sie wollten es wie die Wilden namens Ouetaka [...] roh kauen und schlucken.⁴

Die Ouetaka, von denen Léry an anderer Stelle berichtet, sie würden das Fleisch ihrer getöteten Feinde roh verzehren, werden von ihm deutlich an jenem Ende des anthropophagen Spektrums verortet, an dem Hunger und die Lust am Verzehr die bestimmenden Motivationen sind. Nicht nur vergleicht Léry hier also die katholische Eucharistie, bei der Villegagnon und seine Anhänger das Fleisch – nicht den Leib! – Christi tatsächlich essen wollen, statt ihn nur geistlich aufzunehmen, mit der Anthropophagie, er vergleicht sie auch noch mit der schlimmsten Form von Anthropophagie, die sich neben der Lust am Verzehr auch durch den Verzicht auf die Kulturtechnik des Kochens auszeichnet. Die Verknüpfung von Anthropophagie und katholischer Eucharistie findet sich häufig in der konfessionellen Propaganda der Frühen Neuzeit, Léry zeichnet hier aber ein komplexeres Bild.³⁷ Der Realpräsenz, die hier mit dem Volk der Ouetaka verknüpft wird, steht ein rhetorisches, metonymisches Verständnis gegenüber, das in Brot und Wein nur Zeichen für den Leib und das Blut Christi sieht. Diese Sichtweise überträgt Léry nun auf die Anthropophagie der Tupinamba, die in dem verspeisten Fleisch ihrer Feinde nur einen symbolischen Akt von Rache sähen.

Ich habe obenstehende Passage auf Französisch zitiert, weil sie in den Fassungen der de Brys fehlt. In der deutschen Ausgabe betrifft das nur diesen Satz, in der lateinischen Ausgabe fehlt das ganze Kapitel mit den theologischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den Konfessionen. In beiden Fällen ist die Vorlage der de Brys eine lateinische Ausgabe, die 1586 von dem calvinistischen Pastor Urbain Chauveton in Genf herausgegeben wurde.³⁸ Die lateinische Fassung der de Brys weist dabei wesentlich mehr Streichungen und Änderungen auf als die deutsche Übersetzung, die – ebenso wie die Übersetzung von Stadens Bericht ins Lateinische – von dem Dichter und Arzt Johann Adam Lonicer angefertigt wurde. Der Grund für die zusätzlichen Streichungen dürfte zum einen die Orientierung am europäischen – und damit potentiell auch katholischen – Lesepublikum sein, zum anderen die Angst vor einer Zensur des Werkes.³⁹ Gestrichen wurden die theologischen Debatten rund um die Eucharistie, Angriffe auf Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, eine Lobrede auf Calvin, ein Bericht über die Gräueltaten der Bartholomäusnacht sowie der 107. Psalm, ein Grundpfeiler calvinistischer Theologie, der in der Vorrede sowohl der Vorlage als auch der deutschen Fassung zur Gänze abgedruckt ist. Insgesamt wurde Lérys Text für die lateini-

³⁶ Léry (1578), S. 77–78.

³⁷ Zum Anthropophagievorwurf in der konfessionellen Propaganda vgl. Lestringant (1997), S. 65, 71–72.

³⁸ Léry (1586).

³⁹ Ausführlich dazu van Groesen (2008), S. 260–265, 270, 300–303.

sche Ausgabe der de Brys um rund 22 Seiten gekürzt, immerhin ein Zehntel des gesamten Werkes.

Die de Brys streichen aber nicht nur konfessionell problematische Passagen, sie rahmen die Texte auch neu. Zwischen den beiden Werken von Staden und Léry, die nebeneinander im dritten Band der *India Occidentalis*-Sammlung abgedruckt wurden, besteht keine direkte Verbindung; ihre Gemeinsamkeiten bei der Beschreibung Brasiliens und der indigenen Bevölkerung beruhen darauf, dass sich beide Verfasser in den 1550er Jahren in einer ähnlichen Region aufgehalten und daher ähnliche Beobachtungen angestellt haben. Dennoch verknüpft Theodor de Bry die beiden Texte in seiner Vorrede miteinander, indem er das Gottvertrauen der Verfasser hervorhebt. Er fordert die Leser*innen auf, sie sollten Gott für seine Barmherzigkeit danken, und nennt als Exempel die beiden Autoren, „deren der eine ein geborner Teutscher / der ander aber ein Frantzose gewesen / welche von wegen ihres glaubens unnd vertrauens / daß sie auff Gott gesetzt / von vielen gefährlichkeiten deß Todes seind erlediget worden.“⁴⁰ De Bry greift damit auf den grundlegenden – und dezidiert protestantischen – Diskurs von Stadens Werk voraus, der die Befreiung aus seiner Gefangenschaft bei den Indigenen Gottes Macht zuschreibt. Für Jean de Léry fehlt eine entsprechende Errettungssituation aus den Händen der Indios, hier finden die wesentlichen Konflikte zwischen den protestantischen und den katholischen Siedlern der französischen Kolonie statt. Unter Verweis auf die Hinrichtung dreier Protestanten sieht Erich Hassinger in der Abfassung des Werkes allerdings durchaus die Absicht Lérys, „Zeugnis von seinem Glauben abzulegen und kundzutun, daß er allein durch Gottes besondere Gnade davor bewahrt blieb, das Schicksal der drei hingerichteten Glaubensgenossen erleiden zu müssen.“⁴¹ Da Theodor de Bry die „gefährlichkeiten deß Todes“, vor denen Gott die beiden Autoren bewahrt habe, nicht genauer benennt, werden die Errettungssituationen von Staden und Léry gleichgesetzt – Indios und Katholiken werden also gleichermaßen zur Bedrohung für die beiden Autoren stilisiert. Ohne eine explizit konfessionelle Aussage zu treffen, stellt Theodor de Bry so seine beiden protestantischen Autoren gemeinsam unter den besonderen Schutz Gottes.

3.5 Das Unglück der Anderen

Wegen dieser und ähnlicher Passagen hat die Forschung die *India Occidentalis*-Sammlung lange als ein protestantisches Propagandawerkzeug betrachtet und den de Brys in erster Linie konfessionspolitische Motive zugeschrieben.⁴² Michiel van

⁴⁰ *India Occidentalis* III (dt. 1593), Vorrede, S. [2].

⁴¹ Hassinger (1987), S. 103.

⁴² So bescheinigt beispielsweise Wolfgang Neuber der Sammlung ein „reformatorisches, anti-katholisches Programm“ (Neuber 1991), S. 252. Michèle Duchet geht noch einen Schritt weiter und bezeichnet die Sammlung als protestantische Kriegsmaschine („machine de guerre“, Duchet (1987), S. 10). Die Liste ließe sich beliebig fortführen.

Groesen hat dagegen überzeugend dargelegt, dass für die Verleger wirtschaftliche Interessen im Vordergrund standen und konfessionelle Invektiven sogar eher abgeschwächt denn hervorgehoben wurden, um einen Absatz der Bücher auch in katholischen Regionen zu ermöglichen.⁴³ Neben den oben genannten Eingriffen in das Werk Jean de Lérys streichen die de Bry beispielsweise in der Vorrede zum Werk von Hans Staden im Kontext einer Kritik an Heiligenanrufungen in Notlagen den Passus „nach papistischer weise“⁴⁴. In den *India Occidentalis*-Bänden IV–VI, die die *Historia del Mondo Nuovo* von Girolamo Benzoni enthalten, wurden zwar viele der anti-katholischen Angriffe im Text übernommen, für die prominenten Bildunterschriften hingegen – die Charles de l’Escluse im Auftrag der de Brys angefertigte – wurden polemische Verweise auf den Papst und die Jungfrau Maria nicht aufgegriffen.⁴⁵ Das heißt aber natürlich nicht, dass konfessionelle oder politische Momente keine Rolle bei der Publikation gespielt hätten, sowohl für die de Brys als auch für deren Umfeld. So hat der englische Geograph und Geistliche Richard Hakluyt massiv auf die Entstehung der ersten beiden *India Occidentalis*-Bände – über die englische Kolonie in Virginia und die französische Kolonie in Florida – eingewirkt und die Publikation der Sammlung erst angestoßen.⁴⁶ Hakluyt war maßgeblich an der Etablierung einer englischen Präsenz in Amerika beteiligt, nicht zuletzt durch seine verlegerische Arbeit. Welche konkreten Interessen Hakluyt mit der Veröffentlichung von Reiseberichten verband, zeigt sich an einer von ihm besorgten Ausgabe von René de Laudonnières Werk, das die Konflikte der Franzosen mit den Spaniern und letztlich den Untergang der französischen Kolonie in Florida schildert. Erstmals 1586 auf Französisch gedruckt, wurde der Text bereits ein Jahr später ins Englische übersetzt. In dem Vorwort der englischen Ausgabe schreibt Hakluyt über das desaströse Ende der französischen Kolonie: „Other mens misfortune ought to be our warning.“⁴⁷ Hakluyt tritt hier als Mahner auf, der vor einem kolonialen Konflikt mit den Spaniern warnt und seine Position durch die Verbreitung eines abschreckenden Beispiels zu stützen sucht. Zugleich betont er individuelle Fehler auf französischer Seite, die zum Untergang der Kolonie beigetragen haben, sodass zwar einerseits Franzosen und Engländer durch die Kontrastierung mit den Spaniern in eins gesetzt werden, andererseits aber die Möglichkeit offengehalten wird, durch besonnenes Verhalten dem französischen Schicksal zu entgehen.

Die de Brys drucken den Bericht Laudonnières im zweiten Band ihrer *India Occidentalis*-Sammlung ab, zusammen mit handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen des Malers Jacques Le Moyne, der an einer der Fahrten Laudonnières teilgenommen hatte. Die Zusammenstellung des Materials dürfte Charles de l’Escluse vorgenom-

⁴³Vgl. van Groesen (2008).

⁴⁴Staden (1557), S. [12]; vgl. *India Occidentalis*. III (dt. 1593), Vorrede Dryanders, S. [5].

⁴⁵Vgl. van Groesen (2008), S. 270–271. Zu l’Escluse als Verfasser der *subscriptions* vgl. Perplies (2017), S. 187–188.

⁴⁶Vgl. Perplies (2017), S. 95–100.

⁴⁷Laudonnière (1587), Vorrede Hakluyts, S. [1].

men haben, der auch als Übersetzer ins Lateinische fungierte. Auch in der Ausgabe der de Brys liegt ein Schwerpunkt auf individuellem Fehlverhalten und den daraus resultierenden Konsequenzen, nicht nur für Laudonnière und die Kolonie im Ganzen, sondern beispielsweise auch für den französischen Händler Pierre Gambie: Die verschiedenen Vorlagen stellen die Ereignisse etwas unterschiedlich dar; l'Escluse folgt aber den Aufzeichnungen Le Moynes, der in dem tyrannischen Auftreten des Händlers den Grund dafür sieht, dass dieser die Gunst der Indios verlor und schließlich von ihnen umgebracht wurde.⁴⁸ Damit werden die Ereignisse zur Metapher für das Fehlverhalten der französischen Kolonisten, die zum Bruch mit den Indios und damit letztlich zum Untergang der Kolonie führten. Die französischen Verfehlungen bilden das Scharnier zwischen den Auseinandersetzungen mit den Indigenen und den Konflikten mit den Spaniern und stellen somit eine wichtige Klammer zwischen den verschiedenen Teilen des *India Occidentalis*-Bandes dar. Sogar der von den de Brys vorangestellte Kupferstich, der Noahs Brandopfer zeigt, kann in diesem Kontext gelesen werden: Das Fehlverhalten seines Sohnes Cham führt zu Noahs Fluch über dessen Nachkommen, zu denen, wie Theodor de Bry in der Vorrede explizit schreibt, auch die indigene Bevölkerung Amerikas zählt.⁴⁹ Dieses moralisch-genealogische Programm bietet eine ‚neutrale‘ Lesart des Stiches an, der in der Forschung vielfach als konfessionelle Botschaft aufgefasst wurde – Amerika als sicherer Zufluchtsort für die verfolgten Protestanten, ein gelobtes Land, in dem ein neuer Bund mit Gott möglich wird.⁵⁰ So wie die de Brys hier eine eindeutig konfessionelle Festlegung umgehen, so vermeiden sie auch den expliziten politischen Kontext, den Laudonnières Werk in der Fassung von Hakluyt noch hatte.

Eine bemerkenswerte Parallele hierzu ist die Vereinnahmung der *Brevíssima relación* des spanischen Dominikaners Bartolomé de Las Casas durch anti-spanische Kreise in Frankreich und in den Niederlanden. Die *Brevíssima relación* entstand Anfang der 1550er Jahre im Kontext der Disputationen von Valladolid, bei denen ein innerspanischer Richtungsstreit über den Umgang mit der indigenen Bevölkerung ausgetragen wurde.⁵¹ Las Casas spricht in seinem Werk für die kolonialisierten Subjekte und setzt sich für ihren Schutz ein, er spricht aber auch *für* sie, in dem Sinne, dass die Indios selbst kaum zu Wort kommen. Spivaks berühmte Frage, ob die Subalternen sprechen können, muss für diesen Fall klar verneint werden, es bedarf hier eines Vertreters der Metropole, der sie repräsentiert.⁵²

⁴⁸Vgl. *India Occidentalis* II (dt. 1591), S. 19–20 sowie die *scriptio* zu Stich XLII. Zum Vergleich der beiden Darstellungen vgl. auch Wehrheim-Peucker (1998), S. 220–222.

⁴⁹*India Occidentalis* II (dt. 1591), Vorrede, S. [1]. Zu den verschiedenen Thesen über die Herkunft der Indios vgl. Huddleston (1967).

⁵⁰Vgl. Greve (2004), S. 118; Kiening (2006), S. 254–255. Zu dem Kupferstich vgl. auch Frübis (2003).

⁵¹Zu den Disputationen vgl. Hanke (1974); zur Druckgeschichte vgl. Greve (2004), S. 209.

⁵²Vgl. Spivak (1994).

Bei aller Kritik, die Las Casas vorbringt, dürfte es aber kaum in seinem Sinne gewesen sein, dass das Werk später kanonischen Status unter den Texten des anti-spanischen Widerstandes erlangte. Dafür wurde die *Brevíssima relación* nicht mehr ‚nur‘ als Anklage gelesen, sondern auch als Warnung, dass einer von Spanien unterworfenen Bevölkerung in Europa ein ähnliches Schicksal bevorstünde.⁵³ Aus dieser Funktionalisierung des Textes für die innereuropäischen Konflikte erklärt sich die Verbreitung des Textes seit Ende der 1570er Jahre, als sie zunächst ins Niederländische und dann ins Französische und Englische übersetzt wurde. So sind der ersten französischen Übersetzung, die von dem flandrischen Geistlichen Jacques de Migrode übersetzt und 1579 in Antwerpen gedruckt wurde, Verse vorangestellt, die das Publikum auffordern, aus dem Leiden der Indios ihre Lehren zu ziehen: „Heureux celuy qui devient sage / En voyant d’autruy le dommage.“⁵⁴; ‚Glücklich ist, wer weise wird, wenn er den Schaden anderer sieht.‘ Die kolonialen Gräueltaten waren fester Bestandteil der *leyenda negra*, wobei aber die Kritik am kolonialen Terror nicht als genuine Sorge um das Wohl der Indios gelesen werden sollte. Vielmehr findet auch hier in der Gegenüberstellung zu den spanischen Eroberern eine diskursive Parallelsetzung der indigenen Bevölkerung Amerikas und der Bevölkerung in Frankreich und den Niederlanden statt.

Auch die *Brevíssima relación* wurde von den de Brys gedruckt, aber nicht als Teil der großformatigen *India Occidentalis*-Serie, sondern – 1598 auf Latein und 1599 auf Deutsch – im Quartformat. Es ist plausibel, dass die de Brys sich wegen des kontroversen Inhalts und vor allem wegen der Rezeption des Werkes als anti-spanische Propagandaschrift dagegen entschieden haben, es in die Sammlung aufzunehmen. Die Sorge vor einer Zensur des Werkes, die möglicherweise die gesamte *India Occidentalis*-Serie gefährdet hätte, dürfte hier entscheidend gewesen sein.⁵⁵ Interessant sind dennoch die Unterschiede zwischen der deutschen und der lateinischen Ausgabe, die einen Hinweis auf die Ausrichtung der de Bryschen Publikationen in den beiden Sprachen liefern. Bei der deutschen Ausgabe handelt es sich um eine Übersetzung der französischen Fassung von 1579. Zwar fehlt der zuvor zitierte Vers auf dem Titelblatt, aber schon der Titel lässt keinen Zweifel an der Botschaft der Ausgabe: „Warhafftiger und gründtlicher Bericht der Hispanier gewlichen / und abscheulichen Tyranney / von ihnen in den West Indien / so die Neuwe Welt genennet wirt / begangen [...]“.⁵⁶ Auch das Vorwort von Jacques de Migrode wurde von den de Brys übernommen, einschließlich programmatischer Passagen wie dieser:

Zu dieser Vorrede aber / welche ich an alle Provintzen der Niderlande gerichtet / haben mich zwo ursachen bewogen: Die erste / daß sie doch einmal von irem teiffen Schloff auf-

⁵³Zum Beispiel der Niederlande vgl. Schmidt (2001).

⁵⁴Las Casas (1579), Titelblatt. Zu den protestantischen Übersetzungen vgl. Chartier (2015), S. 116–128.

⁵⁵Vgl. van Groesen (2008), S. 117–118. Ausführlich zu den de Bryschen Bearbeitungen Perplies (2017), S. 212–219.

⁵⁶Las Casas (1599), Titelblatt.

fwachen / und sich auffmuntern / auch anfangen möchten / an Gottes urteil und gericht zudencken [...] Die andere / daß sie fleissiger betrachten wollten / mit was für einem Feinde sie zuthun haben / und daß sie gleich / wie auff einer taffel / für inen abgemahlet sehen / was ir thun für einen außgang erreichen werde [...] und was sie als dann zugewarten haben.⁵⁷

Das Werk wird also von den de Brys in seinem ursprünglichen politischen Kontext belassen, ungeachtet der zwanzig Jahre, die seit der Publikation ihrer Vorlage vergangen sind und ungeachtet auch des veränderten Publikums durch die Übersetzung ins Deutsche. Es dürfte sich hierbei um die Veröffentlichung mit der explizitesten politischen Botschaft handeln, die in den Anfangsjahren der Offizin gedruckt wurde – was eine mögliche Erklärung dafür ist, dass sich weder der Name der Verleger noch der des Übersetzers auf dem Titel finden. Die lateinische Ausgabe verwendet interessanterweise dieselbe Illustration wie die deutsche Fassung, allerdings steht hier der Name der Verleger auf dem Titelblatt. Johann Theodor und Johann Israel de Bry, die Söhne Theodor de Brys, haben zudem ein eigenes Widmungsschreiben hinzugefügt, in dem sie ausdrücklich auf die Amerikaberichte verweisen, die ihr kürzlich verstorbener Vater herausgegeben hatte.⁵⁸ Der Grund dafür, dass die de Brys sich nicht scheuen, die lateinische Fassung mit ihrer Werkstatt und der *India Occidentalis*-Sammlung zu verknüpfen, dürfte in der Wahl der Vorlage liegen: Nicht Jacques de Miggrodes polemische Übersetzung dient ihnen hier als Vorlage, sondern die *editio princeps*, die 1552 in Sevilla gedruckt wurde.⁵⁹ Natürlich vermeiden die de Brys mit der Wahl der lateinischen Erstausgabe einen zusätzlichen Arbeitsschritt – nämlich die (Rück-)Übersetzung ins Lateinische –, zugleich befreien sie ihre Publikation aber von dem politischen Ballast der Miggrode-Ausgabe, was der entscheidende Grund gewesen sein dürfte. Zum einen war die lateinische Ausgabe, wie eingangs erwähnt, für den europäischen Buchmarkt bestimmt, also für ein breiteres und durchaus nicht nur protestantisches Publikum. Zum anderen dürften die iberische und katholische Zensur das Werk weniger kritisch betrachtet haben, wenn es keine Anzeichen einer politischen Funktionalisierung aufwies.

3.6 Fazit

Die präsentierten Beispiele vermitteln einen Eindruck von der Komplexität der Übersetzungsprozesse in der *India Occidentalis*-Sammlung und von der vielschichtigen Funktionalisierung der Texte im Zuge dieser Prozesse. Ebenso wie die Verfasser der abgedruckten Texte ihrer Position als Vermittler und Überset-

⁵⁷Las Casas (1599), Vorrede Miggrodes, S. [1–2].

⁵⁸Vgl. Las Casas (1598), S. 4.

⁵⁹Anders Tom Conley, der die Antwerpener Ausgabe zur Vorlage auch der lateinischen Fassung erklärt (Conley (1992), S. 106).

zer indigener Sprache und Kultur nutzen, um Fremdheit oder Nähe, essentialistische Differenz oder Zugehörigkeit zur Menschheitsfamilie zu markieren, nutzten die de Brys ihre Rolle als *gate-keeper* bei der Auswahl, Anordnung, Bearbeitung, Kontextualisierung und Übersetzung der Texte. Durch die Zusammenstellung der Texte und durch vermeintlich beiläufige Rahmung in den Vorreden gelang es den de Brys, neue Bedeutungsebenen zu schaffen, die durchaus in konfessioneller Hinsicht gelesen werden können.⁶⁰ Ihr oberstes Ziel scheint aber – wenig überraschend für eine Familie von Verlegern und Kupferstechern – der Markterfolg ihrer Publikationen gewesen zu sein, und für dieses Ziel waren die de Brys bereit, radikal in die Texte einzugreifen und potentiell problematische Passagen zu streichen. Die vorgestellten Eingriffe etwa in das Werk Jean de Lérys zeigen, wie selbstbewusst sich die de Brys ihr Material aneigneten und an das jeweilige Zielpublikum anpassten. Dazu gehören wie gezeigt Übersetzungen in eine andere Sprache, aber eben auch Übersetzungen in andere kulturelle, konfessionelle und politische Kontexte.

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Kapitel 4

Glottopolitik und Translationspolitik in Neu-Spanien. Der Einfluss des ,*miserables*-Diskurses‘ auf koloniale Translationspraktiken



Martina Schrader-Kniffki, Yannic Klamp und Malte Kneifel

4.1 Einleitung

Geleitet von der Hypothese, dass die am europäischen ‚Wissen‘ über den zu kolonisierenden ‚Anderen‘ ausgerichtete spanische Kolonialpolitik¹ die Praktiken der Translation zwischen dem Spanischen und den indigenen Sprachen zu einem großen Teil bestimmte, ist es das Ziel dieses Beitrags, Translationspolitik als Teil der Kolonialpolitik Neu-Spaniens aus missionarischen und notariellen Translaten herauszuarbeiten. Für eine Diskussion kolonialer Translationspolitik folgen wir damit nicht dem legalistisch ausgerichteten Ansatz einer *top-down* Analyse von Gesetzen, die sich direkt auf Translation beziehen, und deren Umsetzung in Translationspraktiken.² Vielmehr ist es die Intention dieser Studie,

¹Vgl. Duve (2008), S. 29.

²Die wenig detailreiche und aussagekräftige Translationspolitik im Sinne von einschlägigen Gesetzen dagegen wird in dieser Studie gemäß der kasuistischen Interpretation der Forschung zu den sogenannten *Leyes de Indias*, vgl. Tau Anzoátegui (2015), als Niederschlag einer Dynamik zwischen (konfliktiven) Translationspraktiken und deren zur Norm gewordenen Regelungen aufgefasst und als Teil der Darstellung des historischen Kontextes thematisiert.

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spezifische Translationsverfahren, die sich anhand sprachlicher Aspekte in missionarischen und notariellen Textkonstellationen rekonstruieren lassen, unter Rückgriff auf eine Kolonialpolitik zu analysieren und zu erklären, die sich als Konsequenz in Europa geführter Diskussionen um die soziale Kategorisierung der in der Neuen Welt angetroffenen Bevölkerung herausbildete. Es handelt sich dabei um die soziale Einordnung und Bezeichnung als *personas miserables* (‚bemitleidenswerte Personen‘) und den rechtlichen Sonderstatus, der damit einherging. Dieser eröffnete der indigenen Bevölkerung zum einen Handlungsspielräume, zum anderen wurde mit dieser Kategorie das Bild einer aus europäischer Perspektive als bedauernswert und nicht ebenbürtig abgewerteten sozialen Gruppe reproduziert, die eben solcher Rechte bedurfte.

Der vorliegende Beitrag argumentiert, dass dieser zweideutige Status ein entscheidender Wegbereiter für die Teilhabe an politischen Entscheidungsprozessen und die Wahrung eigener Interessen dieser sozialen Gruppe war und dass das diskursiv erzeugte ‚Bild der Indigenen‘, das sich durch den Status abzeichnete, auch die in Neu-Spanien etablierten Translationspraktiken beeinflusste. Missionarische, indoktrinierende Texte, die vom Spanischen in indigene Sprachen übersetzt wurden, sicherten die Etablierung des diskursiven Bildes der Indigenen sowie insbesondere dessen Übernahme durch eben diese Bevölkerungsgruppe. Die sprachlichen Merkmale der zapotekischen Translate zeigen, dass die Translationsstrategien an diesem Bild ausgerichtet waren. Aufgrund dieses Einflusses wird der Diskurs dann auch in der Übersetzung juristisch-notarieller Texte – sowohl vom Zapotekischen ins Spanische als auch umgekehrt – reproduziert. Dieser Beitrag zeigt nun, dass das Bild der Indigenen als *personas miserables* von der so bezeichneten Bevölkerungsgruppe nicht nur übernommen, sondern kreativ und strategisch im Rahmen von Translation verwendet wurde, um Einfluss auf rechtliche Sachverhalte zu nehmen.

Zur Veranschaulichung unserer Hypothesen wird in den beiden folgenden Kapiteln zunächst der historische Kontext der Untersuchung rekonstruiert. Dies geschieht im Hinblick auf ein geeignetes theoretisches Konzept von (Sprach- und) Translationspolitik (4.2), nachfolgend wird ein kurzer Überblick über die Sprach- und Translationspolitik in Neu-Spanien gegeben (4.3). Der Hintergrund des europäischen Diskurses der *miserables* vervollständigt die historische Kontextualisierung der Analysen (4.4). Ein Kapitel, das die Auswahl der Texte und die Analysemethoden thematisiert, leitet zum Analyseteil über (4.5). In diesem (4.6) stehen zunächst Texte, die die Translationspolitik der Missionare zeigen, im Zentrum. Im siebten Kapitel dieser Studie werden Texte präsentiert, die den Einfluss des ‚*miserables*-Diskurses‘ auf die Übersetzungspraktiken vom Spanischen ins Zapotekische im notariellen Bereich (4.7.1) und schließlich, als besonderen Fall, auf die Niederschrift vom Zapotekischen ins Spanische verdolmetschter Zeugenaussagen zeigen (4.7.2). In einer Konklusion (4.8) werden die wichtigsten Ergebnisse zusammengefasst.

4.2 Translationspolitik und Glottopolitik der Translation

Der Begriff der Translationspolitik verweist auf die Einbettung von Translation in politische Machtbeziehungen, die sich in mehrsprachigen Gesellschaften in asymmetrischen Beziehungen zwischen Sprachen und deren Sprecher*innen niederschlagen:

The pure and simple notion of translation as a transportation of meaning from one semiotic system to another is always embedded in a history defining the political relations between the two systems.³

Translation findet also – folgt man diesem Zitat – niemals im politikfreien Raum statt. Insbesondere für die hier im Fokus stehende Kolonialzeit und die Beziehung zwischen dem Spanischen als Sprache der Kolonialmacht und den indigenen Sprachen kann dies geradezu als Prämisse gelten. Damit ist Translationspolitik auch Teil von Sprach(en)politik, die bislang intensiver als Translationspolitik erforscht und auch für die Kolonialzeit rekonstruiert wurde.⁴ Erst rezent und im Kontext von Sprachenrechten wird die enge Beziehung zwischen Translationspolitik und Sprach(en)politik, fokussiert – „[y]et, there is no *language policy* without a *translation policy*“.⁵ Publikationen zu Translationspolitik sind in der Regel auf aktuelle Sprachenkonstellationen bezogen und nehmen insbesondere deren Einbettung in Gesetzgebungen plurilingualer Nationalstaaten mit Konstellationen aus Majoritäten- und Minoritätensprachen in den Fokus.⁶ Theoretische Modellierungen konzipieren Sprachpolitik jedoch als vielschichtiges Phänomen und setzen die Figur des sprachpolitischen Akteurs (auch *bottom-up* und damit hierarchisch ‚unterhalb‘ des Gesetzgebers an. Analog zu ihnen kann Translationspolitik ähnlich vielschichtig aufgefasst werden. Ein sehr weitgefasstes sprachpolitisches Konzept ist der von Guespin und Marcellesi (1986) in die theoretische Diskussion eingeführte Begriff der ‚Glottopolitik‘, der für den hier gewählten Kontext fruchtbar gemacht werden kann. Mit dem Begriff sollen die Konsequenzen von Sprachpolitik für das Handeln der Sprecher im Sinne der „Reproduktion oder Transformation von Machtverhältnissen“⁷ theoretisch gefasst werden. Auch wenn die Autoren keinen expliziten Bezug zu Translationspolitik herleiten, gehen wir im Sinne von Meylaerts (2011) davon aus, dass diese sprachlichen Praktiken Translation einschließen, und verstehen unter ‚Glottopolitik‘ die Verwendung von Sprachen und die damit einhergehende Translation in kommunikativen Räumen zum Zwecke sozialer und sozio-politischer Intervention. Dies schließt die konkreten, auf der Mikroebene zu analysierenden sprachlichen

³Maranhão (2003), S. 64.

⁴Vgl. Heath (1986), Solano (1991), Wright Carr (2007), Schrader-Kniffki (2022a, 2022b).

⁵Meylaerts (2011), S. 744.

⁶Meylaerts (2011), González Núñez (2016), Sandrini (2019).

⁷Vgl. Arnoux (2000), S. 3.

Verfahren der Translation als glottopolitische Praxis ein. Wie durch die folgenden Analysen gezeigt werden soll, geschieht dies im Sinne einer impliziten sozialen und sozio-politischen Kategorisierung der Zielgruppe der Translation. Als ‚Glottopolitik‘ bezeichnen wir z. B. die Aneignung von Räumen kommunikativen Handelns durch Sprecher, um an gesellschaftspolitischen Prozessen und damit an der sozialen Konstruktion von Machtverhältnissen teilzunehmen. Translationspolitik als Teil von Glottopolitik ermöglicht verbale Handlungen auf verschiedenen Ebenen des sozialen und politischen Kontextes, mit denen Menschen sich selbst als Kollektiv oder Einzelperson repräsentieren und ihre Interessen verfolgen.

4.3 Koloniale Sprach- und Translationspolitik an der Peripherie Neuspaniens

Die Analysen in diesem Beitrag nehmen Bezug auf die koloniale Translationspolitik im heutigen mexikanischen Bundesstaat Oaxaca mit besonderem Schwerpunkt auf die Region des Distrikts Villa Alta in der aufgrund der geographischen Lage als Peripherie geltenden Region Sierra Norte. Die Region ist von großer sprachlicher Diversität gekennzeichnet und war aus diesem Grunde – wie z. B. die große Anzahl mehrsprachiger Gerichtsakten zeigt – Raum reger glottopolitischer Aktivitäten. Translation, also sowohl mündliche als auch schriftliche Übersetzungspraktiken und -verfahren, war gleichzeitig Bedingung und Konsequenz des Gebrauchs der indigenen Sprachen sowohl im Zuge der Evangelisierung durch den Dominikanerorden als auch der indigenen Rechtsprechung. Sie sicherte die Verständigung zwischen der hispanophonen und der indigenen Bevölkerung vor Ort. An der Peripherie des durch eine stets als inkohärent dargestellte Sprachpolitik geprägten spanischen Kolonialreichs lässt sich also die lokale Sprach- und Translationspolitik sowohl der Kirche als auch im Kontext der Rechtsprechung aus den Texten, die das Korpus für diese Untersuchung bilden, selbst erschließen.⁸ Die hier fokussierte Region steht damit als ein Beispiel für die Rolle der Translation sowohl als notwendiges Mittel zur Kolonisierung als auch insbesondere als Kontrollinstrument für die Administration der kolonisierten Gebiete.⁹

⁸Vgl. Schrader-Kniffki (2022a, 2022b).

⁹Das Machtgefüge zwischen Europäern und der indigenen Bevölkerung Neu-Spaniens war nicht zuletzt geprägt durch den Unterschied zwischen einer als prestigereich angesehenen Schriftkultur und der – zumindest in der hier fokussierten Region – oralen Kultur der indigenen Bevölkerung. Dies ist ein entscheidender Unterschied zu den in diesem Band behandelten asiatischen Missionskontexten, da die Translationspolitik den Ausbau der indigenen Sprache Zapotekisch implizieren musste. Gedruckte Bücher konnten daher zumindest für die zu missionierende indigene Bevölkerung nicht den Stellenwert besitzen, den sie im europäischen oder asiatischen Kontext hatten, vgl. den Beitrag von Triplett in diesem Band (s. Kap. 9). Sie dienten vielmehr

Das Amt der sogenannten *intérpretes* („Dolmetscher“) wurde bereits sehr früh im Rahmen der spanischen Kolonialverwaltung institutionalisiert und reguliert. Dies zeigen die ältesten das Amt betreffenden Gesetze, die, ausgehend von der *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* („Sammlung der Gesetze der Königreiche der Indias“) aus dem Jahr 1681, auf die 20er Jahre des 16. Jahrhunderts datiert werden.¹⁰ Die gesetzliche Regulierung des Amtes der *intérpretes* bezog sich in der Hauptsache auf die Arbeitsbedingungen und das Verhalten der Amtsinhaber. Einschlägige Gesetze nehmen etwa Bezug auf deren Arbeitsort und Arbeitszeit¹¹ oder bestimmen die Höhe der Besoldung der Tätigkeit;¹² besonders prominent ist außerdem die gesetzliche Bekämpfung von Korruption, in deren Zuge den *intérpretes* durch drei unterschiedliche Erlasse die Annahme von Sach- oder Geldgeschenken sowie Dienstleistungen verboten und bei Zuwiderhandlung eine Bestrafung durch Entziehung des Amtes in Aussicht gestellt wird.¹³ Die Translationspraxis wird dagegen lediglich in einem Gesetz explizit thematisiert, in dem folgende Erwartungen an die *intérpretes* expliziert werden:

[...] que usarán su oficio **bien y fielmente**, declarando, é interpretando el negocio y pleyto, que les fuere cometido, clara y abiertamente, sin encubrir, ni añadir cosa alguna, diciendo simplemente el hecho, delito ó negocio, y testigos, que se examinare, sin ser parciales á ninguna de las partes, ni favorecer mas á uno, que á otro, y que por ello no llevarán interes alguno, mas del salario, que les fuere tasado.¹⁴

[...] dass sie ihr Amt **gut und treu** ausüben werden, indem sie die Angelegenheit oder den Streitfall, der ihnen anvertraut wird, klar und offen vortragen und übersetzen, ohne irgendeine Sache zu verbergen oder hinzuzufügen, indem sie einfach sagen, was die Tatsache, das Delikt oder die Angelegenheit ist, und die Zeugen, die befragt werden, ohne irgendeiner Seite parteiisch zu sein, auch nicht eine Seite der anderen vorzuziehen, und dass sie dafür kein Geld verlangen außer dem Sold, der ihnen zugeschrieben ist. (Übers. u. Herv. M.K.)

als Grundlage für orale Praktiken der Missionierung. Dennoch zeigen sich auch Gemeinsamkeiten in den unterschiedlichen Missionskontexten, deren Vertiefung vielversprechend erscheint. Inspiriert durch die Untersuchung der missionarischen Translationspolitik in Indien, vgl. den Beitrag von Nardini in diesem Band (s. Kap. 8), könnte eine detaillierte und auf diesen Aspekt fokussierte Untersuchung zeigen, ob und wie in den Übersetzungen der Dominikaner-Missionare in der hier untersuchten Kultur und Sprache die soziale Hierarchie der Zielkultur ebenfalls Berücksichtigung findet, vgl. Schrader-Kniffki (2021); siehe in Bezug auf notarielle Texte auch Abschnitt 8.1 – auch wenn hier eine formal dominierende ‚Kolonialmacht‘ in einem anderen Verhältnis zur lokalen Bevölkerung stand als zum Beispiel die Jesuiten in Japan, vgl. den Beitrag von Triplett in diesem Band (s. Kap. 9).

¹⁰Vgl. Solano (1991), S. 16.

¹¹Vgl. Paredes (1681), S. 274–274^v, *Leyes de Indias, libro II, título XXIX, ley iiiii, ley v, ley vi, ley viii*.

¹²Vgl. Paredes (1681), S. 274^v. *Leyes de Indias, libro II, título XXIX, ley x, ley xi*.

¹³Vgl. Paredes (1681), S. 274–275^v, *Leyes de Indias, libro II, título XXIX, ley iii, ley ix, ley xiiii*.

¹⁴Vgl. Paredes (1681), S. 274, *Leyes de Indias, libro II, título XXIX, ley ii*.

Diese Formulierungen beinhalten eine Forderung nach inhaltlicher Invarianz zwischen der jeweils ausgangs- und zielsprachlichen Äußerung (d. h. zwischen Ausgangs- und Zieltext), implizieren also die Ansicht, dass sprachliche Botschaften direkt und unverändert aus einer Sprache in eine andere übertragen werden können.¹⁵ Keines der die *intérpretes* betreffenden Gesetze aus der *recopilación* von 1681 nimmt Bezug auf notwendige Sprachkompetenzen der Amtsinhaber.¹⁶

Insbesondere Angehörige indigener Eliten fungierten als *intérpretes*, da sie aufgrund ihrer gesellschaftlichen Stellung in Kontakt zur spanischen Kolonialverwaltung standen und somit Zugang zur Kultur und Sprache der Kolonialmacht hatten.¹⁷ Im Zuge dieses Kontakts eigneten sich viele Angehörige der gehobenen indigenen Bevölkerungsschicht Kenntnisse des Spanischen an, adaptierten jedoch auch Bestandteile der Kultur der Kolonisatoren, was bspw. im Tragen spanischer Kleidung Ausdruck fand.¹⁸ Während diese Anpassung der indigenen Eliten durch die spanische Kolonialmacht als ein Indiz für Annäherung und Subordination unter die spanische Krone interpretiert werden konnte, zeigen die Gerichtsakten, die das Korpus dieser Untersuchung bilden, dass die indigenen Eliten ihre Vermittlerposition zwischen den zwei Kulturen innerhalb des zugrunde liegenden, asymmetrischen kolonialen Machtverhältnisses zur Verfolgung eigener, auch machtpolitischer Interessen nutzten.¹⁹ Dabei stellten die kulturelle Anpassung und die Sprachkenntnisse eine Schlüsselkomponente dar und sicherten einen Platz „in between“.²⁰

4.4 Diskurs und der rechtliche Status der Indigenen als *miserables*

Der unserer Hypothese zugrunde liegende Diskurs über den außereuropäischen ‚Anderen‘ lässt sich – bevor er in kolonialen Sonderrechten verstetigt wurde – auf diejenigen wechselnden Diskurse zurückführen, die als Versuche gelten

¹⁵Vgl. zu dieser Thematik Schrader-Kniffki et al. (2021).

¹⁶Vgl. Solano (1991), S. xxxi: „Estas tareas fueron consideradas menores“, „Diese Aufgaben wurden als nebensächlich angesehen“, Übers. M.K.

¹⁷Vgl. Alonso und Payàs (2008).

¹⁸Vgl. Schrader-Kniffki (2012), S. 135–136.

¹⁹Vgl. hierzu das Konzept der ‚Justiznutzung‘ in Dinges (2000, 2004), dazu auch die Kritik in Härter (2001), S. 384. Aus der Perspektive der Kasuistik wäre hier jedoch eher von ‚Justizfindung‘ zu sprechen, da die Nutzung der Justiz Fälle produzierte, die wiederum in die Rechtsprechung eingingen. Dies wird auch in Härter (2001) thematisiert. Der Begriff der Kasuistik hat sich insbesondere im Bereich der Forschung zum *Derecho Indiano* etabliert, vgl. Tau Anzoátegui (2021).

²⁰Vgl. Yannakakis (2008).

können, das Fremde – Indigene, in diesem Falle – in iberische Denk- und Wissensmuster einzuordnen. Unsere Hypothese setzt in dem Moment dieses sich ändernden Diskurses an, in dem man begann, die indigene Bevölkerung aufgrund des kursierenden konstruierten ‚Wissens‘ über ihre Lebensgrundlagen und Eigenschaften als besonders schutzbedürftig, als *miserables*, einzuschätzen. Als *miserables* galten in Spanien im weitesten Sinne sozial benachteiligte Personen, die „Mitleid erregten“.²¹ Zu diesen gehörten Witwen, Waisen, Häftlinge, Schüler*innen sowie insbesondere Neophyten, also zum Christentum konvertierte Personen. Schon aus dieser Aufzählung ergibt sich die Kategorie der *miserables* als heterogene soziale Gruppe,²² deren Schutz als gesamtgesellschaftlich verbindliche christliche Pflicht angesehen wurde. In der Rechtsprechung findet sich die Kategorie zunächst als „eher untechnische Verwendung des Terminus“.²³ *Miserables* galten aufgrund ihrer benachteiligten Lebensumstände oder ihres körperlichen bzw. geistigen Zustandes als besonders schutzbedürftig und nicht in der Lage zu eigenständigem Handeln – auch aufgrund der Vorstellung mangelnder oder nicht ausgereifter kognitiver Fähigkeiten. Aus diesem Grund ging mit ihrem Status auch eine ständige rechtliche Unmündigkeit einher.²⁴

Die rechtliche Subsumierung der indigenen Bevölkerung unter die *miserables* ist in Neu-Spanien erstmals schriftlich durch eine *real ordenanza* (‚königliche Anordnung‘) aus dem Jahr 1563 festgelegt.²⁵ Zu den Gründen der Zuerkennung dieses Status zählen die sozial benachteiligte Position der Indigenen in der kolonialen spanischen Gesellschaft, die sich etwa in Form von fehlender Wirtschaftskraft und einer (vermeintlich) fehlenden Rechtskultur äußerte.²⁶ Hinzu kommen ihre Position als ‚neue Christen‘ bzw. Neophyten²⁷ sowie die Einschätzung der Indigenen durch die spanischen Machthaber als im weitesten Sinne kognitiv unterlegene Menschen. Die Einteilung in sogenannte *repúblicas de españoles* (‚Spanier-Republiken‘) und *repúblicas de indios* (‚Indigenen-Republiken‘), die als Konsequenz dieser Einschätzung angesehen werden kann, erlaubte der indigenen Bevölkerung eine relativ autonome Selbstverwaltung. Auch die Erlaubnis der Verwendung indigener Sprachen ergibt sich hieraus, wenngleich sie nicht in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang mit dem Status als *miserables* stand.

Dies steht im Gegensatz zum diskursiven Bild, das mit Inhabern des rechtlichen Status der *miserables* und somit auch mit der indigenen Bevölkerung

²¹Vgl. Cebreiros Álvarez (2004), S. 471: „Así se identifica a los miserables con aquellos cuya naturaleza mueve a la misericordia“, ‚So identifiziert man die *miserables* als jene, deren Wesen Mitleid erregt‘, Übers. M.K.

²²Vgl. Cebreiros Álvarez (2004), S. 470–472; De la Puente Brunke (2019), Absatz 5.

²³Vgl. Duve (2008), S. 175.

²⁴Vgl. Cebreiros Álvarez (2004), S. 470; De la Puente Brunke (2019), Absatz 4.

²⁵Vgl. Cunill (2011), S. 231.

²⁶Vgl. Cunill (2011), S. 234.

²⁷Vgl. Cebreiros Álvarez (2004), S. 477–478. Der Autor führt dieses Argument u. a. auch auf die Lehre des Papstes Innozenz IV. zurück.

Neu-Spaniens assoziiert wurde, und demzufolge ihnen Eigenschaften wie soziale Benachteiligung und insbesondere auch Unmündigkeit sowie mangelnde kognitive Fähigkeiten zugeschrieben wurden, die ihre Schutzbedürftigkeit begründeten. Vielmehr kann argumentiert werden, dass dieses Bild von derselben Bevölkerungsgruppe zur Gestaltung der Beziehung zu den spanischen Machthabern strategisch genutzt wurde und somit wiederum ein Instrument zur Schaffung von politischer Teilhabe für die indigene Bevölkerung darstellte.²⁸

Diese Teilnahme und somit auch der sie gestattende rechtliche Sonderstatus ist eng verbunden mit Translationsprozessen zwischen indigenen Sprachen und dem Spanischen, die die Kommunikation zwischen den beiden sozialen Gruppen erst ermöglichten.

4.5 Datenbasis und methodisches Vorgehen

Entsprechend der Ziele dieses Artikels, zum einen Fragmente des Diskurses der *miserables* in missionarischen Texten zu analysieren und zum anderen Translationspolitik bzw. Glottopolitik, die laut unserer Hypothese aus diesem Diskurs erfolgt, anhand von Translationsprozeduren in Translaten sowohl des missionarischen als auch des notariellen Bereichs zu analysieren, konstituiert sich die Datenbasis für die folgenden Analysen 1. aus Texten missionarischer Herkunft und 2. aus notariellen Texten. Für die exemplarischen Analysen der missionarischen Texte wurden folgende Textfragmente ausgewählt:

- 1a) In spanischer Sprache verfasste Paratexte aus den Katechismen von Francisco Pacheco de Silva (1687) und Leonardo Levanto (1732).
- 1b) Als spanischer Ausgangs- und zapotekischer Zieltext vorliegende Textfragmente katechetischer Texte für das Sprachenpaar Spanisch-Zapotekisch aus Pedro de Feria (1567) und Francisco Pacheco de Silva (1687).

Für die Analysen des notariellen Bereichs wurden folgende Textfragmente ausgewählt:

- 2a) Ein Ausschnitt aus einem im Zuge einer Währungsreform in spanischer Sprache verfassten Textes und seine zapotekische Übersetzung.
- 2b) Vier Ausschnitte aus Protokollen von Zeugenvernehmungen, deren Aussagen aus dem Zapotekischen verdolmetscht und in spanischer Sprache niedergeschrieben wurden.

Methodisch wird für die Analysen der kolonialen Translationspraktiken – d. h. das translatorische Handeln – den Prinzipien einer textpaarbezogenen kontrastiven Analyse gefolgt, um die lokalen Translationsverfahren, d. h. die translatorischen Entscheidungen, aus sprachwissenschaftlicher Perspektive zu rekonstruieren.

²⁸Vgl. Cunill (2011), S. 241.

Tab. 4.1 Pacheco de Silva (1882 [1687]), S. IV; Levanto (1776 [1732]), o. S. (dt. Übers. Y.K.)

Pacheco de Silva, Vorwort	Nicolás de Gasca in Levanto, Gutachten
[...] lo / claro para que el tesoro de la Doctrina que / enseñó lo encuentre áun el ménos ingenio-/so y no deje de hallarle por escondido.	[...] para que aprendan en los misterios de nuestra Santa / Fee los niños, y los que por su corta capacidad aun no han sa-/lido de la puerilidad;
[...] das Deutliche, damit den Schatz der <i>Doctrina</i> , die ich lehre, sogar der am wenigsten Scharfsinnige entdecke und nicht davon ablässt, ihn zu finden, da er versteckt ist.	[...] damit die Kinder und diejenigen, die wegen ihrer geringen Befähigung noch nicht aus der Kindlichkeit erwachsen sind, mit den Mysterien unseres Heiligen Glaubens vertraut gemacht werden;

4.6 Der Diskurs der *miserables* in der Evangelisierung der indigenen Bevölkerung

4.6.1 Die Zuschreibung von Eigenschaften der indigenen *miserables* in der Katechese

In den folgenden Analysen der in (4.5) genannten Textstellen aus Katechismen manifestieren sich Aspekte des Bildes der indigenen Bevölkerung als *miserables* in je unterschiedlicher Weise. Die Textsorten, aus welchen sich ein Katechismus zusammensetzt, besitzen unterschiedliche Funktionen, haben unterschiedliche Adressaten und beeinflussen daher auch die Modalitäten der Reproduktion des Diskurses in unterschiedlicher Weise. Um diese Variation zu berücksichtigen, sollen im Folgenden exemplarisch zum einen in zwei Katechismen veröffentlichte Paratexte, die in spanischer Sprache verfasst wurden und ein hispanophones Publikum adressieren, und zum anderen Ausschnitte aus den *artículos de fé*, den ‚Glaubensartikeln‘, analysiert werden, die von der indigenen Bevölkerung auswendig gelernt und mündlich wiederholt wurden.

In den Paratexten der *Doctrina cristiana, traducida de la lengua castellana en lengua zapoteca nextiza* (1687) von Francisco Pacheco de Silva und des *Catecismo de la doctrina christiana, en lengua zaapoteca* (1732) von Leonardo Levanto²⁹ finden sich im Vorwort des Verfassers und in einem Gutachten für die Druckerlaubnis Verweise auf den ‚*miserables*-Diskurs‘ (s. Tab. 4.1).

In diesen Textausschnitten manifestiert sich der Diskurs in spanischer Sprache und ohne Übersetzung ins Zapotekische als ein ‚Sprechen-über‘ die indigene Bevölkerung. Der Status als *miserables* wird mit den Zuschreibungen des ‚wenig Scharfsinnigen‘ und von ‚geringer Befähigung‘ sowie insbesondere

²⁹Die unsere Argumentation untermauernden Textanalysen folgen in diesem Kapitel explizit nicht der Chronologie der Entstehung der Katechismen, sondern der Art und Weise, in der sich der Diskurs in den Texten zeigt.

des ‚Kindseins‘ der indigenen Bevölkerung verknüpft. Das heißt auch, dass es sich um eine ‚unschuldige‘ Unfähigkeit handelt, die Dinge des Christentums zu durchschauen; die Zuschreibung des Kindlichen evoziert gleichzeitig die Schutzbedürftigkeit, sodass dieser zwiespältige Diskurs in seiner vermeintlichen Güte der indigenen Bevölkerung gegenüber gleichzeitig soziale Asymmetrie erzeugt.

In den Glaubensartikeln und deren Übersetzung in die zapotekische Sprache wird nun dieser Diskurs im Handlungsrahmen der christlichen Indoktrinierung aktualisiert. Bereits im ältesten Katechismus in zapotekischer Sprache, der von Pedro de Feria veröffentlichten *Doctrina Christiana en lengua Castellana y Çapoteca* (1567), finden sich mehrere Textstellen, die auf den genannten Diskurs verweisen und – aufgrund der besonderen Bedingungen der Katechese – zeigen, dass er der indigenen Bevölkerung zur Verinnerlichung aufgezwungen wurde. Die in Tab. 4.2 dargestellte und im Folgenden analysierte Passage findet sich im Werk Ferias im Rahmen der Erklärungen der *articulos que pertenescen a la divinidad* („Artikel, die zur Göttlichkeit gehören“).

Die christliche Vorstellung eines einzigen Gottes, die hier thematisiert wird, gehörte zu den wichtigsten Unterschieden zwischen Christentum und der Glaubenswelt der Zapoteken, deren Anhänger von den Missionaren der *idolatría* („Götzendienst“) beschuldigt wurden. Feria verweist ausdrücklich auf diese Schwierigkeit: „ser este dios uno solo: tiene una poca de dificultad“, „dass dieser

Tab. 4.2 Feria (1567), S. 21 (dt. Übers. Y.K.)

Spanischer Ausgangstext mit Übersetzung*	Zapotekischer Zieltext mit Übersetzung
El segundo punto de e-/ste articulo que dize, ser e-/ste dios uno solo: tiene una / poca de dificultad: por la / ceguedad y obscuridad de / nuestros entendimientos / Y por tanto nos ayuda, y / alumbra la fee:	Cotopaloo tichaletobi co-/tobi xibaa nitij, nitenani laabi-/too nitij cani tobici nacani: laci-/tinagàna nacani: quelani lachi / tono cutubi nattola, cutubina-/cahui nacani. Niacani cetapiani / xiteni Dios, ni la fee**:
Der zweite Punkt dieses Artikels, der besagt, dass dieser Gott ein einziger ist, hat eine kleine Schwierigkeit: wegen der Blindheit und Dunkelheit unsrer Auffassungsgabe[.] Und deshalb hilft und erhellt uns der Glaube:	Angesichts der zweiten der zu dieser ersten geordneten Ausführung gehörigen Aussagen, die besagt, diese sogenannte Gottheit ist so eine einzige: das ist ein kleines Stück weit schwierig: Denn unsre Herzen [sind] sehr dunkel, sie sind sehr finster. So spricht diese Sache von Gott, dieser der Glaube:

* Die Darstellungsweise in zwei Spalten bildet das Original ab, in dem jede Seite ebenfalls zwei Spalten aufweist und so den spanischen Ausgangstext dem zapotekischen Zieltext gegenüberstellt.

** Ausgehend von der Graphie der Missionare ist anzunehmen, dass die vom Spanischen ins Zapotekische übernommenen Entlehnungen lautlich – anders etwa als z. B. im japanischen Kontext (vgl. Triplet in diesem Band, s. Kap. 9: *Kirishito / Kirishitan*) – nicht an die Zielsprache angepasst wurden. Dies zeigt sich auch daran, dass mit Gebrauch des Graphems <f>, das für den Laut /f/ steht, im zapotekischen Text ein Phonem verwendet wird, das im Lautinventar der zapotekischen Sprache ursprünglich nicht vorhanden war. Daraus ist zu schließen, dass die spanische Orthographie für Entlehnungen im missionarischen Kontext als bindend angesehen wurde. Hingegen zeigt sich in der Graphie der notariellen Texte, dass die indigene Bevölkerung Entlehnungen meist an die zapotekische Lautung anpasste.

Gott ein einziger ist, hat eine kleine Schwierigkeit‘. Der Gebrauch der Pluralform „nuestros entendimientos“, ‚unsere Auffassungsgabe‘, mit dem sich der Autor des Katechismus in die Aussage einzubeziehen scheint, wirft nun Fragen auf, zu deren Klärung auf den Katechismus als Textsorte zwischen medialer und konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit und seine Funktion verwiesen werden muss – ein Katechismus wurde schriftlich verfasst, um von den zu Bekehrenden auswendig gelernt und mündlich wiederholt zu werden.³⁰ Aus translatorischer Perspektive bedeutet dies, dass der spanische Text, der für das Textpaar die Funktion des ‚Ausgangstextes‘ hat, bereits als Text mit dieser Funktion verfasst wurde; entsprechend wurde er ins Zapotekische übersetzt, die Sprache, in der die Neophyten ihn verinnerlichen sollten. Die kontinuierliche mündliche Wiederholung des Diskurses, für die der hier zitierte Textauschnitt beispielhaft steht, galt als wirksame Methode der Indoktrinierung. Die Übersetzung des spanischen Textes in die zapotekische Sprache soll hier anhand eines Aspekts analysiert werden, der in Bezug zu unserer Annahme steht, dass die Evangelisierung einen entscheidenden Beitrag zur Verinnerlichung des europäischen Diskurses über die indigene Bevölkerung durch diese selbst geleistet hat. Es handelt sich um die Übersetzung des spanischen Begriffs *entendimiento*, ‚Verständnis‘, der mit dem Konzept *lachi*, ‚Seele‘, auch ‚Herz‘, übersetzt wird. Dieser ist im Zapotekischen Basis einer reichen Metaphorik, die auf Charakter, Wesen und ‚Innerlichkeit‘ des Menschen bezogen ist, und durchaus eine sozial wertende Funktion annehmen kann. Im Gegensatz zu dem auf Rationalität zielenden Begriff des *entendimiento* wird damit im Zapotekischen eine emotionale Komponente aufgerufen, um so – im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes – die „Seelen der Heiden zu erreichen und ihre Herzen zu erobern“.³¹

4.6.2 *Der ‚miserables-Diskurs‘ als Hintergrund ‚expandierender‘ Translationsprozeduren*

Im Folgenden sollen die für unsere Argumentation relevanten Textfragmente aus der *Doctrina cristiana* von Francisco Pacheco de Silva hinsichtlich der in ihnen rekonstruierbaren Translationsprozeduren analysiert werden. Die Analysen setzen an der Frage nach der Motivation und Funktion von Translationsprozeduren an, die dazu führen, dass die jeweiligen Zieltexte erheblich umfangreicher als die Ausgangstexte erscheinen; ein Phänomen, dessen materielle Ausprägung sich zunächst auf der Textoberfläche zeigt (s. Abb. 4.1).

Ausgehend von dieser Beobachtung soll die Analyse mit dem ‚*miserables*-Diskurs‘ in Beziehung gesetzt werden. Dazu wurde der dritte Glaubensartikel aus der *Doctrina* gewählt (s. Tab. 4.3).

³⁰Vgl. dazu beispielsweise Ehlich (1999), S. 26; Wandel (2016), S. 12–13, 43.

³¹Ricard (1986), S. 94: „llegar al alma de los paganos y [...] conquistar su corazón“, Übers. Y.K.

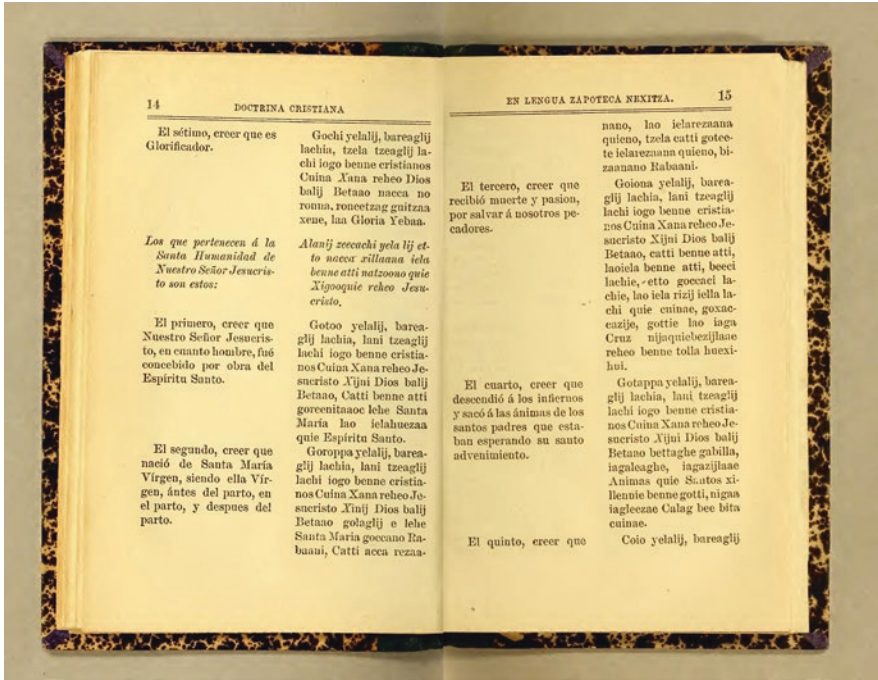


Abb. 4.1 Pacheco de Silva: *Doctrina Cristiana*, S. 14–15. Gedruckt in Oaxaca 1882 [1687]. John Carter Brown Library, b3904335

Tab. 4.3 Pacheco de Silva (1882 [1687]), S. 15 (dt. Übers. Y.K.)

Spanischer Ausgangstext mit Übersetzung	Zapotekischer Zieletext mit Übersetzung
El tercero, creer que / recibió muerte y pasión, / por salvar á nosotros pe-/cadores.	Goiona yelalij, barea-/glij lachia, lani tzeaglij / lachi iogo benne cristia-/nos Cuina Xana reheo Je-/sucristo Xijni Dios balij / Betaao, catti benne atti, -/ laoiela benne atti, beeci / lachie, etto goccaci la-/chie, lao iela rizij iella la-/chi quie cuinae, goxac-/cazije, gottie lao iaga / Cruz nijaquiebezijlaae / reheo benne tolla huexi-/hui.
Der dritte [Artikel], glauben, dass er [= Jesus] Tod und Passion erfuhr, um uns Sünder zu erlösen.	Die dritte Wahrheit, mein Herz wandert geradeaus [= ich glaube], und geradeaus geht das Herz aller Menschen [= alle Menschen glauben], dass unser Herr Jesus Christus selbst, Sohn Gottes, wahrhaftige Gottheit, als er Mensch in der Menschheit [war], die Seele überdauert, was seine Seele war, in der Bereitschaft von sich selbst, litt, am Stock Kreuz starb, um zu erretten uns schuldige Menschen, die wir Falsches/Schlechtes tun.

Die Textstelle steht exemplarisch für die auch in Abb. 4.1 ersichtliche Diskrepanz zwischen der ‚materiellen‘ Länge des Ausgangstextes und der des Zieltextes, die sich in den ins Zapotekische übersetzten Katechismen, insbesondere auch im Werk Pachecos, sehr häufig findet und – bedingt durch deren Zwei-Spalten-Präsentation – als visuell wahrnehmbarer Unterschied manifestiert. Konkret bedeutet dies, dass z. B. ein auf zwei Zeilen begrenzter spanischer Textteil auf der zapotekischen Seite beträchtlich mehr Raum in Form von mehr Wörtern und Zeilen einnimmt. Der auf diese Weise produzierte Eindruck von Unausgewogenheit der Textmenge wirft natürlich hinsichtlich der Rekonstruktion der angewendeten Translationsprozeduren Fragen auf. Wir schlagen für dieses Phänomen den Begriff ‚expandierende Translation‘ vor³² und analysieren diese, gemäß unserer Ausgangshypothese, bezogen auf die Einschätzung über die indigene Bevölkerung, die wir weiter oben als ‚miserables-Diskurs‘ diskutiert haben. Zwar muss berücksichtigt werden, dass insbesondere die christlichen Konzepte aus der spanischen Sprache nicht immer ohne Erklärungen und Paraphrasierungen ins Zapotekische übersetzt werden können, doch wird in der ausgewählten Passage deutlich, dass die ‚Expansionen‘ oftmals nicht allein mit sprachbezogenen Unterschieden erklärbar sind. Ein Beispiel, für das ein Zusammenhang mit Problemen der Begriffsfindung angenommen werden kann, ist die paraphrasierende Übersetzung des christlichen Konzepts der *pecadores* (‚Sünder‘) mit der zapotekischen Bildung *tolla huexihui*, das im Deutschen ebenfalls weiter paraphrasiert als ‚Schuld aufgrund von Falschen/Schlechtem‘ wiedergegeben werden kann.³³

Viel ausführlicher wird nun z. B. der im Ausgangstext durch die 3. Person Singular „-ó“ in „recibió muerte y pasión“, ‚er erfuhr Tod und Leiden‘ ausgedrückte Verweis auf Jesus im Zapotekischen wiedergegeben: „Cuina Xana reheo Jesucristo Xijni Dios balij Betaao“, ‚unser (aller) [inkl.]³⁴ Herr Jesus Christus selbst, Sohn Gottes, wahrhaftige Gottheit‘. Hier wird nicht mittels Pronomen auf ‚Jesus‘ verwiesen, sondern die Figur wird mit dem Gebrauch der inklusiven Form der 1. Person Plural, *reheo* ‚unser aller‘, und einer Entlehnung explizit benannt. Dieser Benennung sind nun die beiden zapotekischen Partikel *cuina*, ‚er selbst‘ und *xana*, ‚Herr‘, als Respekt markierend vorangestellt. Die auf diese Weise benannte Figur wird ausführlich erklärt: *xijni Dios*, ‚der Sohn Gottes‘ und *balij Betaao*, ‚wahrhaftige Gottheit‘. Insbesondere der Gebrauch des zapotekischen Wortes *betaao*, ‚Gottheit‘ – hier in seiner Bedeutung betont durch

³²Vgl. Prunč (2002), S. 84.

³³Vgl. zum Konzept ‚Sünde‘ in spanisch-zapotekischen Katechismen auch Schrader-Kniffki und Yannakakis (2014). Bezüglich umschreibender Übersetzungen sowie weiterer Translations-techniken, die im Missionskontext häufig Anwendung fanden, vgl. allgemein auch Zwartjes (2014), S. 38 sowie Flüchter (2017), S. 32.

³⁴Das Zapotekische verfügt über zwei unterschiedliche Formen für die 1. Person Plural: eine sog. inklusive Form [inkl.], die die im (symbolischen) Zeigfeld befindlichen Personen einschließt, und eine exklusive Form, die lediglich eine Teilmenge der Personen einschließt und damit eine weitere Teilmenge ausschließt.

den Gebrauch einer Majuskel – hat eine die vorangegangene Entlehnung *Dios* erklärende Funktion. Sie nimmt ein den zum christlichen Glauben Bekehrten und zu Bekehrenden vertrautes Konzept auf, um ihnen den christlichen Gott nahezubringen. Mit ihren insistierend-erklärenden und formelhaft-repetitiven Elementen drückt diese Übersetzung eine Haltung zum ‚Anderen‘, dem Adressaten des Textes, aus, der diese Dinge gemäß seiner Klassifizierung als *persona miserable* nicht ohne Weiteres verstehen kann.

Auch Jesu Tod und Passion werden mit Übersetzungen im Zapotekischen wiedergegeben, die zeigen, wie versucht wurde, dem ‚Anderen‘, von dem angenommen wird, dass jegliches Vorstellungsvermögen für christliche Konzepte und Begebenheiten fehlt, diese nahezubringen. Der Tod und das Leiden Jesu werden im Zieltext nicht als geteiltes Wissen vorausgesetzt, wie das im Ausgangstext der Fall ist, sondern mit dem Ausdruck ‚gottie lao iaga Cruz‘, ‚er starb am Stock Kreuz‘ vergegenwärtigt. Dabei wird das Wort für den christlichen Begriff des Kreuzes aus dem Spanischen ins Zapotekische entlehnt und dem zapotekischen Wort *iaga* ‚Stock‘ nachgestellt, sodass es eine adjektivische, ‚Stock‘ näher bestimmende Funktion erhält. Auch die für den christlichen Glauben zentralen Informationen, dass ‚Jesu Seele überdauert‘, da er lediglich als Mensch starb und nicht als Gott, sowie dass er sich bereitwillig geopfert hat, werden im Zapotekischen ausformuliert, während sie im Ausgangstext als vorausgesetztes Wissen unerwähnt bleiben. Im zapotekischen Zieltext wird also die Bedeutung, die im spanischen Text mit dem Begriff ‚Tod‘ im Zusammenhang mit Jesus Christus für Christen assoziativ abrufbar ist, erläutert und erklärt. Die Translationsprozedur ist also eine ‚erklärende und erläuternde Expansion‘.

Auch im Kontext der Erklärung der Zehn Gebote finden sich bei Pacheco de Silva Textstellen, bei denen sich die Länge von Ausgangs- und Zieltext deutlich unterscheidet. Die in Tab. 4.4 präsentierten Ausführungen folgen auf die Frage, wer gegen den Glauben sündige.

Tab. 4.4 Pacheco de Silva (1882) [1687], S. 67 (dt. Übers. Y.K.)

Spanischer Ausgangstext mit Übersetzung	Zapotekischer Zieltext mit Übersetzung
El que cree co-/sas supersticiosas, igno-/ra, niega ó duda las que / debe creer.	Benne reaglee / beezi, benne roni quiee / Xitijza ieela, benne reag / zina, benne reag guija, / benne rizij nachi bezee-/llaao. Benne acca nee-/zani etto nozee tzeaglij / lachie, Benne acca ica-/abi etto nozee tzeaglij la-/chie. Lani benne huet-/tixi titza, benne roni / thioppa rohoa thioppa / lachi.
Derjenige, der abergläubische Dinge glaubt, der die [Dinge], die er glauben soll, nicht kennt, sie leugnet oder anzweifelt.	Der Mensch, der nur sagt, dass er glaubt, der die Worte des Irrglaubens befolgt, der nur so glaubt, der zu glauben vortäuscht, der dem Teufel Ehrerbietung erweist. Der Mensch, der nicht weiß, was er glauben soll, der nicht antwortet, was er glauben soll. Und der Mensch, der ein Verdreher von Worten [ist], der mit zwei Seelen agiert [= wiederholt zweifelt], zwei Seelen in sich trägt [= (allgemein) zweifelt].

Der spanische Ausgangstext unterscheidet allgemein zwischen den Dingen, die man nicht glauben soll und die hier verallgemeinernd mit dem als ‚Fachbegriff‘ zu bezeichnenden Adjektiv *supersticiosas*, ‚abergläubisch‘, bezeichnet werden, und solchen, die man glauben soll. Der wesentlich umfangreichere zapotekische Text orientiert sich an dieser Einteilung, besteht jedoch aus drei Sätzen und unterstützt die inhaltliche Gliederung somit auf Ebene der Interpunktion. Der erste Satz thematisiert den aus Sicht der Missionare fehlgeleiteten Glauben und bezieht sich auf den auch im Ausgangstext zuerst genannten Inhalt. Pacheco untergliedert diesen in zwei Einzelaspekte und ergänzt ihn zusätzlich um weitere Merkmale: Einerseits nimmt er Bezug auf den zapotekischen Ausdruck *Xitija ieela*, hier mit ‚Worte des Irrglaubens‘ übersetzt, und personifiziert das Böse mit dem Begriff *bezeellaa*, dem ursprünglichen Namen des zapotekischen Unterweltgottes, der im Zuge der Evangelisierung aber als Synonym für den Teufel etabliert wurde.³⁵ Andererseits wird die im Ausgangstext formulierte Aussage erweitert, indem in die Gruppe derer, die gegen den Glauben sündigen, explizit solche Personen eingeschlossen werden, die nur vorgeblich gläubig sind, also bewusste Täuschungen vornehmen. Die ‚Expansion‘ beinhaltet an dieser Stelle also nicht nur eine zum Verständnis des Inhalts notwendige Erklärung, die u. a. durch die Bezugnahme auf ein den Adressaten bekanntes Konzept erreicht wird (*bezeellaa*), sondern auch die Ergänzung von Inhalten, die über den semantischen Gehalt des im Ausgangstext geäußerten Wortes *supersticiosas* hinausgehen. Durch diese Form der Ergänzung unterscheidet sich diese expandierende Übersetzung teilweise von der in Tab. 4.3 abgebildeten, ‚erklärenden und erläuternden Expansion‘, die auf implizit in den Konzepten des Ausgangstextes enthaltenen Informationen beruht.

Diese Art des ‚erweiternden expandierenden Übersetzens‘ lässt sich auch innerhalb des zweiten Teilaspekts feststellen, dem die beiden übrigen Sätze gewidmet sind. Das im Spanischen durch *ignora*, ‚kennt nicht‘, ausgedrückte Unwissen findet sich im zapotekischen Ausdruck „Benne acca neezani etto nozee tzeaglij lachie“, ‚der Mensch, der nicht weiß, was er glauben soll‘, wieder, wird anschließend aber noch um eine Facette erweitert: Der Teilsatz wird wiederholt, und die konjugierte Verbform *neezani*, ‚weiß‘, wird durch die Form *riccaabi*, ‚antwortet‘, ersetzt. Damit geht die Aussage über den ursprünglichen Inhalt hinaus. Unsere Hypothese ist, dass hier auf die von Auswendiglernen und mündlichem Wiederholen geprägte Kommunikationssituation der Katechese der indigenen Bevölkerung Bezug genommen wird. Ebenso wie die Äußerung zum ‚vorgetäuschten Glauben‘ ist diese Textstelle explizit auf eine Wiederholung durch die Adressaten zugeschnitten und antizipiert die Wiedergabe deren eigener Einschätzung hinsichtlich dieser Antworten als unerwünschte Antworten. Die damit suggerierten bzw. in Konsequenz selbst eingestandenen

³⁵Vgl. Lind (2015), S. 19, dort unter der Schreibweise *Pezeelào*. Der Rückgriff auf Lexeme, die in der Zielsprache bereits bestanden, ist im religiös-kosmischen Bereich auch in anderen Missionskontexten belegt, beispielsweise aus Japan anhand des Begriffs *Dainichi*, vgl. Flüchter (2017), S. 32 und Triplett in diesem Band (s. Kap. 9).

Wiedergabeschwierigkeiten und der Widerstand gegenüber der christlichen Lehre beeinflussen nach dieser Analyse auch die Translationsprozeduren, jedoch auf ergänzende und damit andere Weise als es Schlüsselbegriffe des Christentums und Eigennamen wie Passion, Jesus oder Sünder tun.

Die durch den ‚*miserables*-Diskurs‘ ausgelöste ‚erklärende Expansion‘ ist im dritten hier präsentierten Satz feststellbar, der inhaltlich ‚niega ó duda‘, ‚er leugnet oder zweifelt an‘, aufgreift und insbesondere den zweiten Bestandteil ausführlicher beschreibt. Hier finden sich zwei zapotekische Ausdrücke für ‚Zweifel‘: ‚roni thioppa lachi‘, wörtlich ‚er agiert mit zwei Seelen‘, und ‚rohoa (thioppa) lachi‘, hier übersetzt als ‚er trägt zwei Seelen in sich‘. Diese ergänzen sich gegenseitig und erklären das unerwünschte Verhalten in seiner Gänze – also einerseits als eher punktuelle Handlung und andererseits als Zustand. Wie gezeigt werden konnte, ist die für das Verständnis als notwendig erachtete Erklärung ebenso wie repetitive Elemente, die u. a. auch die Funktion hatten, das Memorisieren zu erleichtern – hier repräsentiert durch *benne* ‚Mensch‘, das insgesamt neun Mal verwendet wird – typisch für die ‚expandierende Übersetzung‘, bildet allerdings nicht die gesamte Bandbreite an Translationsverfahren ab, die unter diesem Konzept greifbar gemacht werden können: Auch weiterführende, nicht in den Ausgangstexten enthaltene Ergänzungen lassen sich als Konsequenz auf das bei Missionaren vorherrschende Bild von der aufgrund der Verständnisprobleme der christlichen Lehre nur schwer bekehrbaren indigenen Bevölkerung verstehen.³⁶

4.7 Der ‚*miserables*-Diskurs‘ in juristischen Übersetzungen

4.7.1 *Didaktische Überarbeitungen des Zieltextes in der spanisch-zapotekischen Übersetzung*

Als Beispiel schriftlicher Translationsprozesse im juristisch-notariellen Bereich dient für diese Analyse eine ‚übergeordnete Verfügung‘ (*Superior Despacho*) des neu-spanischen Vizekönigs Don Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas. Die auf den 16. Oktober 1752 datierte Verfügung entstand im Zuge einer Währungsreform in Neu-Spanien, die zum Ziel hatte, die im Umlauf befindliche Münzwährung zu vereinheitlichen und Falschmünzerei entgegenzuwirken. Zu diesem Zweck sollte

³⁶Es erscheint vielversprechend, zu überprüfen, inwiefern die ‚expandierende Übersetzung‘ auch in anderen Missionskontexten gezeigt werden kann. Als Hypothese kann angenommen werden, dass es sich hierbei um ein Translationsverfahren handelt, das charakteristisch für außereuropäische Missionen ist, und in diesen unterschiedlich starke Ausprägungen aufweist. Möglicherweise sind diese von den strukturellen Unterschieden der Zielkultur zum Christentum abhängig. Hinweise darauf finden sich z. B. bei Triplett in diesem Band (s. Kap. 9).

sämtliches Geld, das sich im Vizekönigreich im Umlauf befand, durch offizielle Stellen eingesammelt und durch neu geprägte Münzen ersetzt werden. Grundlage für dieses Vorgehen war ein Erlass des spanischen Königs vom 20. Mai 1752:

[...] que [...] se recoxa [...] la Moneda del Cuño antiguo, por su valor extrinseco. dando la corriente de la Circular, para que por este medio se eviten los perjuicios, y daños, que dexan considerarse, y que los Pobres, è Yndios [...] no padezan el quebranto.³⁷

[...] dass [...] man die Währung alter Prägung für ihren Materialwert einsammle und die aktuelle, kreisförmige ausgabe, damit auf diese Weise die denkbaren Nachteile und Schäden vermieden werden, und damit die Armen, und *indios* [...] nicht den Bankrott erleiden. (dt. Übers. M.K.)

Nach der Publikation der Verfügung wurde ein Zeitraum von sechs Monaten gewährt, um die Umsetzung der Bestimmungen in der Kolonialverwaltung vorzubereiten und die Bevölkerung Neu-Spaniens über diese Modalitäten zu informieren. Hierfür wurden Kopien der Verfügung an die obersten Richter der neu-spanischen Gerichtsbezirke versendet; das in der Prozessakte vorliegende Exemplar war für den obersten Richter Villa Alta bestimmt (s. Abb. 4.2a). Im Begleitschreiben wurde die unverzügliche Bekanntmachung des Inhalts der Verfügung befohlen, was auch die mündliche Verkündung in sämtlichen Gemeinden des Gerichtsbezirks beinhaltete. Zudem sollte diese Verkündung in indigenen Gemeinden in den autochthonen Sprachen erfolgen, was wie folgt begründet wurde:

[...] se pregone [...] **en los Pueblos de Naturales, traducido a su Ydioma materno por el Ynterprete**, para que la Real benignidad de su Magestad sea notoria, y constante a todo Vasallo, pues la intencion es, que el beneficio de ella alcance hasta el mas minimo individuo.³⁸

[...] man verlaubliche [die Verfügung] **in den Dörfern der Einheimischen, übersetzt in ihre Muttersprache durch den Übersetzer**, damit das königliche Wohlwollen seiner Majestät jedem Untertan bekannt sei und bestätigt werde, denn die Absicht ist, dass sein Nutzen selbst das kleinste Individuum erreicht. (Übers. u. Herv. M.K.)

Dieser Anordnung wurde in Villa Alta durch den obersten Richter Folge geleistet, indem er am 2. Januar 1753 zwei *intérpretes de juzgado*, also offiziellen Gerichtsdolmetschern, den Auftrag gab, die Verfügung des Vizekönigs in die indigenen Sprachen Zapotekisch und Mixe zu übersetzen und anschließend zu veröffentlichen. Diese handschriftlichen Übersetzungen sind ebenfalls in der Akte enthalten (s. Abb. 4.2b).

Die Relevanz dieser Texte für diese Studie liegt in der Tatsache begründet, dass ein offizielles Dokument der Kolonialverwaltung aus dem Spanischen ins Zapotekische und weitere indigene Sprachen übersetzt wurde – denn dieser Sachverhalt gibt Aufschluss über die Perspektive der kolonialen Machthaber auf die indigene Bevölkerung Neu-Spaniens im 18. Jahrhundert und die Sprach- und

³⁷AHJO [Archivo Histórico Judicial del Estado de Oaxaca], Villa Alta, Civil, Leg. 0014 Exp. 0005 (1752), Fol. 3.

³⁸AHJO, Villa Alta, Civil, Leg. 0014 Exp. 0005 (1752), Fol. 2.

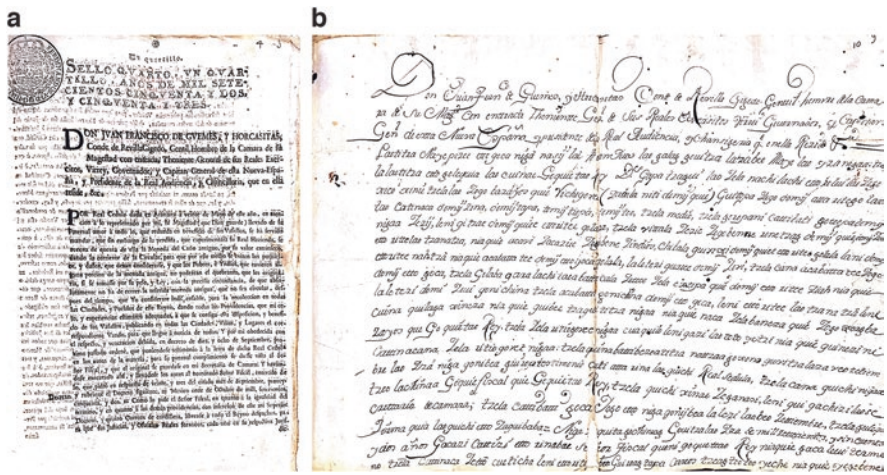


Abb. 4.2 a Gedruckter spanischer Ausgangstext. AHJO, Villa Alta, Civil, Leg. 0014 Exp. 0005 (1752), Fol. 3 **b** Handschriftlicher zapotekischer Zieltext. AHJO, Villa Alta, Civil, Leg. 0014 Exp. 0005 (1752), Fol. 9

Translationspolitik, die in diesem Falle mit der Informationspolitik der Krone einherging. Gleichzeitig aber zeigt sich hier das dieser Politik zugrunde liegende diskursive Bild, das diese Bevölkerungsgruppe als ‚kleinstes Individuum‘ im kolonialen Machtgetriebe sah. Es liegt nahe, mit dieser Kategorisierung die der Schutzbefohlenen und der ‚Kinder‘ in Verbindung zu bringen. Neben der im Folgenden zu analysierenden sprachlichen Gestalt und dem Inhalt dieser Zieltexte (im Vergleich zum Ausgangstext der übergeordneten Verfügung) sind somit auch die Frage nach der Begründung der Anfertigung der Übersetzungen und, in diesem Zusammenhang, der situative Kontext sowie die konkrete Funktion der Texte relevant.

Zur Analyse sollen zunächst die einleitenden Passagen aus dem Ausgangs- und Zieltext dienen, in denen einige zentrale Erkenntnisse bereits deutlich werden (s. Tab. 4.5).

Der Zieltext gibt die Inhalte des Ausgangstexts nicht nur in einer anderen Sprache wieder. Hervorzuheben ist, dass er zudem in eine andere Kommunikationsfunktion in einem spezifischen situativen Kontext eingebunden ist und eine spezifische Funktion erfüllt: Richtete sich der Ausgangstext als übergeordnete Verfügung des neu-spanischen Vizekönigs an spanische Kolonialbeamte, die den darin enthaltenen Befehl publik machen und zu diesem Zweck übersetzen sollten, so ist der Adressat des zapotekischen Zieltexts die indigene Bevölkerung des Gerichtsbezirks Villa Alta, die den königlichen Befehl verstehen und entsprechend handeln sollte. Hier findet ein Medienwechsel statt, da der Zieltext nicht (nur) gelesen, sondern vor allem gehört werden sollte. Damit lassen sich

Tab. 4.5 AHJO, Villa Alta, Civil, Leg. 0014 Exp. 0005 (1752), Fol. 3, 10 (dt. Übers. u. Herv. M.K.)

Spanischer Ausgangstext mit Übersetzung	Zapotekischer Zieltext mit Übersetzung
POR Real Cedula dada en Aranjuez à veinte de Mayo de este año, en atencion à lo representado por mi, su Magestad (que dios guarde) llevado de su Paternal amor à todo lo, que redundo en beneficio de sus Vasallos , se hà servido mandar, que [...]	Laotitsa Nayepiyee etto goca niga nasijlai Aranjues lao galag gouitza lazabeo Mayo lao yza nigaa tzela laotitza etto golequia lao cuinae Goquietao [?]y D.º Gapa tzagui lao Yela nachilachi etto rolui lao Yogo xico xinie tzela lao Yogo bazayos quie richigora
Durch königlichen Erlass, ausgegeben in Aranjuez am zwanzigsten Mai dieses Jahres, unter Berücksichtigung des von mir repräsentierten, hat seine Majestät (Gott schütze ihn), bewegt durch seine väterliche Liebe zu allem, was zum Wohlergehen seiner Vasallen gereicht , zu befehlen geruht, dass [...]	In den hier zu zeichnen befohlenen Worten , die am Ort namens Aranjuez gesagt wurden, an der zwanzigsten Sonne des Monats Mai im Jahr hier, und in den Worten, die der große Herrscher König selbst gesagt hat, Gott bewahre ihn gut, in der Liebe, die er allen seinen Kindern und seinen Vasallen zuteilwerden lässt , wird befohlen: [...]

bestimmte inhaltliche sowie lexikalische Veränderungen im Vergleich zum Ausgangstext erklären.

Während der spanische Ausgangstext durch eine intertextuelle Beziehung zum königlichen Erlass charakterisiert ist, auf dem die vorliegende Verordnung basiert, verweist dessen Übersetzung ins Zapotekische deutlich auf sich selbst, ‚in den hier zu zeichnen befohlenen Worten‘. Es kann angenommen werden, dass dies auf die genannte veränderte Rezeptionssituation des Zieltexts zurückgeführt werden kann: Durch die Formulierung wird deutlich, dass es sich um eine Reproduktion von Äußerungen handelt, deren Quelle eine höhere Autorität ist. Diese Strategie lässt sich an weiteren Stellen des zapotekischen Zieltextes anhand des Verweises ‚etto ribaquia lao guichi nigaa‘, ‚was in diesem Papier hier steht‘, erkennen.³⁹ Im Zieltext wird somit die hierarchisch überlegene Stellung der spanischen Kolonialmacht gegenüber der indigenen Bevölkerung hervorgehoben. Da nun die Urheber des zapotekischen Zieltexts selbst dieser Bevölkerungsgruppe angehörten, muss angenommen werden, dass sie dieses Bild – entweder unbewusst oder intentional – im zapotekischen Zieltext reproduzierten.

Verstärkt wird dieser Eindruck durch lexikalische Veränderungen im selben Abschnitt des Zieltexts. So wird der Begriff *su majestad*, ‚seine Majestät‘, durch die Paraphrase *goquie tao rey*, ‚großer Herrscher König‘, übersetzt. Diese Formulierung, welche das spanische Lehnwort *rey*, ‚König‘, enthält, findet sich auch in anderen aus Villa Alta stammenden Texten; sie verbindet das spanische Lehnwort, gewissermaßen als Eigenname, mit der genuin zapotekischen Bezeichnung *goquie*, was einen männlichen Herrscher, genauer einen Stand des lokalen indigenen Adels beschreibt.⁴⁰ Die Machtstellung des spanischen Königs wird an dieser Stelle unter Rückgriff auf indigene soziale Konzepte ‚erklärt‘.

³⁹ AHJO, Villa Alta, Civil, Leg. 0014 Exp. 0005 (1752), Fol. 10v., dt. Übers. M.K.

⁴⁰ Vgl. Chance (2002), S. 152, Lind (2015), S. 5, Schrader-Kniffki (2022a, 2022b).

Als Grund hierfür ist eine Art didaktischer Aufbereitung von Information für die Rezipienten des Texts plausibel.

Von Interesse für die hier vertretene Hypothese ist auch die Übersetzung der Passage, die die ‚väterliche Liebe‘ des spanischen Königs als Motivation für seinen Erlass thematisiert. Diese Liebe, die im Ausgangstext ‚allen Vasallen‘ gilt, wird im Zieltext erweitert und als ‚Liebe, die er allen seinen Kindern und Vasallen zuteilwerden lässt‘ beschrieben. Auch wenn nicht explizit gemacht wird, wer unter diesen ‚Kindern‘ zu verstehen ist, ist angesichts dessen, dass der Zieltext sich explizit an die indigene Bevölkerung richtet (der Ausgangstext richtet sich an alle Einwohner*innen Neu-Spaniens) davon auszugehen, dass ebendiese mit dieser Bezeichnung angesprochen werden sollen.⁴¹ Hierfür spricht auch, dass sich die obersten Richter von Villa Alta in Briefen mit einer ähnlichen Anrede an indigene Inhaber politisch-administrativer Ämter in den Gemeinden des Gerichtsbezirks wendeten: Darin werden die Indigenen als ‚Söhne‘ angesprochen, während der oberste Richter sich ihnen gegenüber selbst als ‚euer‘ Vater bezeichnet.⁴² Das durch die Verwendung dieser Lexeme evozierte Bild eines hierarchischen Familienverhältnisses spiegelt eine Hierarchie zwischen Herrschenden und Beherrschten wider, die ein generelles Grundprinzip europäischer vormoderner Herrschaftsgefüge darstellt. Dieses impliziert nicht nur Macht, sondern auch Wohlwollen und Fürsorge, also Aspekte, die sich – bezogen auf die spanische Kolonialherrschaft – auch im missionarischen Kontext beobachten lassen.

Der in Tab. 4.6 präsentierte Auszug aus Ausgangs- und Zieltext verdeutlicht den Einfluss des diskursiven Bildes der Indigenen auf den Translationsprozess auf eine andere Weise. Es handelt sich hierbei um den Inhalt des Befehls aus der übergeordneten Verordnung.

Der Befehl aus dem Ausgangstext erscheint im zapotekischen Zieltext in einer ‚didaktisch überarbeiteten‘ Form, die in der Verfügung enthaltene Handlungsanweisungen explizit macht. Hierzu wurden neue Inhalte in den Zieltext eingefügt, wie die konkrete Nennung von Münzzahlen⁴³ und auch zerschnittener Münzen. Die Enumeration dieser Beispiele hat einen repetitiven Charakter, der die dargestellte Information für die Rezipienten eindringlicher macht, jedoch auch vereinfacht. Beides kann wiederum einerseits auf die mutmaßlich mündliche

⁴¹Das im zapotekischen Zieltext verwendete spanische Lehnwort *vasallo*, graphisch realisiert als *bazayo*, dürfte sich ebenfalls auf die indigene Bevölkerung beziehen. Die Beziehung der Indigenen zur spanischen Krone wurde im Rahmen der Kolonialherrschaft bereits früh im 16. Jahrhundert als Vasallentum interpretiert, insbesondere auch als Legitimation für ihre Tributpflichtigkeit, vgl. Menegus Bornemann (1999), Owensby (2011). Der gleichzeitige Status als Vasallen mit entsprechenden Privilegien einerseits und unmündige *miserables* andererseits stand zweifellos in einem gewissen Widerspruch, der als Kontrollinstrument seitens der spanischen Kolonialmacht interpretiert werden kann, vgl. Owensby (2011), S. 72.

⁴²Vgl. AHJO, Villa Alta, Criminal, Leg. 0009 Exp. 0018 (1709), Fol. 48.

⁴³Wahrscheinlicher ist, dass es sich hierbei um Nominalwerte der Münzen und nicht ihre tatsächliche Anzahl handelt.

Tab. 4.6 AHJO, Villa Alta, Civil, Leg. 0014 Exp. 0005 (1752), Fol. 3, 10 (dt. Übers. u. Herv. M.K.)

Spanischer Ausgangstext mit Übersetzung	Zapotekischer Zieltext mit Übersetzung
Que sin embargo de la perdida, que experimentará su Real Hazienda, se recoxa de quenta de ella la Moneda del Cuño antiguo, por su valor extrinseco. Dando la corriente de la Circular, para que por este medio se eviten los perjuicios, y daños, que dexan considerarse, y que los Pobres, è Yndios, que tuvieren alguna porcion de la moneda antigua, no padezan el quebranto [...]	(zabala niti domij quie) Guitopa yogo domij atta rite golaza tao [...] domij tapa, tomij tiopa, domij too, tzela medio, tzela goropani catti batti gottopa domij nigaa Yezij, leni gitzae domij quie etto ritee golaza, tzela rittala Yezie yogo benne ronetzag domij quie, domij Yeag etto ritte lao tzanatza, niaquie acavi Yacaziee Yogo bene Yndios [...]
[er befiehlt,] dass trotz des Verlusts den seine königlichen Finanzen erfahren werden, auf deren Kosten das Geld alter Prägung nach seinem Zeitwert einzusammeln, und die aktuelle [Prägung] auszugeben, damit auf diese Weise die denkbaren Nachteile und Schäden vermieden wären, und damit die Armen und die Indios, die etwas vom alten Geld haben, keinen Bankrott erleiden müssen [...]	[er befiehlt], ([ungeachtet] irgendeiner Menge seines Geldes): Die Gesamtheit allen Geldes, das in der Vergangenheit geprägt wurde [...] vier Münzen, drei Münzen, eine Münze, auch halbe, auch diese dritte wie schon diese vierte Münze, wird hier in Empfang genommen, auch aller Geldbesitz dessen, was aus der Vergangenheit ist, und ihr kommt und gebt [es] und alle Leute bekommen ihr Geld, gültiges Geld, das heutzutage geprägt wurde, damit niemand von allen Indios [weg]nimmt [...]

Kommunikationssituation, jedoch andererseits auch auf die Antizipation von Verständnisschwierigkeiten zurückgeführt werden.

Andererseits werden im zapotekischen Text bestimmte Inhalte des spanischsprachigen Ausgangstexts nicht reproduziert, wie z. B. die Möglichkeit das Geld in Mexiko-Stadt umzutauschen. Ihre Nicht-Übersetzung lässt sich durch die Irrelevanz dieser Inhalte in ihrem situativen Kontext erklären: Für die Bevölkerung des peripheren Distrikts Villa Alta war es weder praktikabel noch sinnvoll, zum Geldtausch nach Mexiko-Stadt zu reisen. Die Auslassung von Inhalten des Ausgangstexts kann somit als eine Art Lokalisierungsstrategie eingeordnet werden. Gleichzeitig widerspricht sie jedoch deutlich dem in Kap. 3 beschriebenen Gesetz, das ‚ohne irgendeine Sache zu verbergen oder hinzuzufügen‘ zu übersetzen gebot.

4.7.2 *Subversion durch Translation gesprochener Sprache*

Der Begriff der Translation umfasst schriftliche und mündliche Übersetzungsprozesse. Diese letztgenannten können in historischen Studien lediglich indirekt rekonstruiert werden. Im Korpus der hier präsentierten Forschung können mündliche Translationsprozesse z. B. anhand der zahlreichen Protokolle von Zeugenaussagen nachvollzogen werden, die mittels Dolmetscher vor dem Obersten Richter getätigt, verdolmetscht und sodann niedergeschrieben wurden. Für

diese Texte muss von einer Modifikation der mündlichen Aussagen durch die Verschriftung ausgegangen werden, wie z. B. die Anpassung an zeitgenössische Konventionen der Schriftsprache, der Wechsel von direkter zu indirekter Redewiedergabe sowie die juristische Überformung der Protokolle. Gleichzeitig jedoch mussten sie die von den Zeugen getätigten Aussagen so getreu wie möglich wiedergeben. Merkmale konzeptioneller sprachlicher Mündlichkeit lassen sich also durchaus anhand dieser schriftlichen Texte rekonstruieren:

Pero la tensión entre este esquema firmemente mantenido [...] y la forma primigenia se manifiesta en determinados indicios que parecen remitir a ese discurso efectivamente pronunciado; [...] Esos indicios nos llevan a lo efectivamente dicho, a lo hablado, y de esta forma podemos entrever formas del discurso oral, y formas de una determinada época.⁴⁴

Aber die Spannung zwischen diesem streng eingehaltenen Schema [...] und der ursprünglichen Form manifestiert sich in bestimmten Merkmalen, die auf diese tatsächlich geäußerte Rede rückzuweisen scheinen; [...] Diese Merkmale führen uns zum tatsächlich Gesagten, zum Gesprochenen, und so können wir Formen der mündlichen Rede errahnen, und Formen einer bestimmten Epoche. (dt. Übers. M.K.)

Diese Möglichkeit, aus den Texten Rückschlüsse über die verschriftete, ursprünglich gesprochene Äußerung zu ziehen, erlaubt es auch, Überlegungen zu den verdolmetschten Ausgangsaussagen anzustellen, aus denen sie entstanden sind. Interessant sind in diesem Zusammenhang vier Protokolle⁴⁵ von *confeçiones* (‘Geständnisse’), d. h. im hier vorliegenden Falle Befragungen bereits inhaftierter Personen, für deren widerrechtliches Handeln in Form von Herstellung von Zuckerrohrschnaps Indizien vorlagen und deren Schuldigkeit nun bestätigt werden sollte. Die durch den obersten Richter in Anwesenheit eines Dolmetschers gestellten Fragen ähneln sich trotz geringer Unterschiede im Wortlaut, und lassen auf einen normierten Fragenkatalog schließen. Von Relevanz für die vorliegende Analyse sind die Antworten der vier Inhaftierten auf die Frage, ob sie von der Verkündung des königlichen Erlasses wussten, der die Herstellung und den Konsum von Zuckerrohrschnaps verbot, sich also der Rechtswidrigkeit ihrer Handlungen bewusst waren (s. Tab. 4.7).

Besonders auffällig ist dabei die jeweils auf die Antwort folgende Legitimation der rechtswidrigen Handlung, in der sich die Befragten als „dumm“ bezeichnen, Unmündigkeit bzw. Unreflektiertheit eingestehen und Besserung geloben. Hier fällt besonders die uniforme Lexik ins Auge, etwa in Form der Elemente *tonto* (‘dumm’) oder *no saben lo que (se) hacen* (‘sie wissen nicht, was sie tun’).

⁴⁴ Cano Aguilar (1998), S. 222.

⁴⁵ Die Rolle von Protokollen in frühneuzeitlichen Gerichtsverhandlungen wurde intensiv im Bereich der Kriminalitätsgeschichte thematisiert und ist dort inzwischen ein breit erforschter Gegenstand, vgl. Leitner (2008), Liliequist (2012), Schwerhoff (2011); speziell zu Verhörprotokollen vgl. Niehaus (2003). Deziert linguistische Arbeiten sind noch nicht zahlreich vorhanden, in jüngster Zeit ist aber ein gesteigertes Interesse der Disziplin bspw. an Hexenverhörprotokollen im Rahmen der Germanistik und Anglistik zu verzeichnen, vgl. Grund (2012), Sczcepaniak et al. (2020).

Tab. 4.7 Zeugenaussagen, AHJO, Villa Alta, Criminal, Leg. 0010 Exp. 0025 (1716), Fol. 16^v., 18, 23, 23^v. (dt. Übers. u. Herv. M.K.)

Spanischer Ausgangstext	Übersetzung
Dixo, que es así, que Oyo la Real Cedula, pregonar en la plaza de esta Uilla: y es publica. en su Pueblo pero Como tonto, no Saue lo que ha hecho (Juan Bernal, 27 Jahre)	Er sagte, dass es so ist, dass er hörte, wie die königliche Verfügung auf dem Platz von Villa Alta verkündet wurde: und sie ist bekannt in seinem Dorf, aber als Dummkopf weiß er nicht, was er getan hat
Dijo, que oyo pregonar la dicha Real Cedula, en la plaza de esta Uilla, y es publica en su Pueblo pero que Como tontos, no saben lo que se hacen. Que protexta enmendarse (Juan de Velasco, 36 Jahre)	Er sagte, dass er hörte, wie die königliche Verfügung auf dem Platz von Villa Alta verkündet wurde, und dass sie in seinem Dorf bekannt ist, aber als Dummköpfe wissen sie nicht, was sie tun. Er gelobt sich zu bessern
Dijo, que la oyo publicar en la plaza de esta Uilla, y es publica en Su Pueblo pero que como tontos no Sauen lo que se hasen, y promete la enmienda (Antonio Ojeda, 31 Jahre)	Er sagte, dass er hörte, wie sie auf dem Platz von Villa Alta veröffentlicht wurde, und dass sie in seinem Dorf bekannt ist, aber als Dummköpfe wissen sie nicht was sie tun, und er verspricht Besserung
DiJo. que no lo oyo: pero que es publica en su Pueblo, que todos lo sauen ya; pero que como muger, y tonta, no saue lo que haze (Catharina Maria, 50 Jahre)	Sie sagte, dass sie das nicht hörte, aber dass es in ihrem Dorf bekannt ist, dass alle das schon wissen; aber als Frau, und Dummkopf, weiß sie nicht, was sie tut

Die Formulierungen dienen zur Rechtfertigung des eigenen fehlerhaften Handelns und implizieren gleichzeitig eine verminderte Schuldfähigkeit, was nahelegt, dass sie letztendlich auf eine Milderung des Strafmaßes für das rechtswidrige Verhalten abzielen. Die Uniformität in der sprachlichen Gestalt dieser Aussagen wiederum kann auf zwei mögliche Ursachen zurückgeführt werden: Zum einen könnten die dem Protokoll zugrunde liegenden mündlichen Äußerungen lexikalisch ähnlich, wenn nicht gar gleichlautend gewesen sein, und wurden entsprechend verdolmetscht. Hierfür sprechen die Ausführungen von Cano Aguilar bezüglich des ‚Treueanspruchs‘ solcher Protokolle, jedoch kann die Vermutung nicht zweifelsfrei belegt werden, da die ausgangssprachliche zapotekische Äußerung nicht überliefert ist. Eine andere mögliche Erklärung ist, dass der die Befragung vermittelnde Dolmetscher die Antworten aufgrund ihrer inhaltlichen Ähnlichkeit in der Ausgangssprache Zapotekisch strukturell ähnlich, d. h. lexikalisch und syntaktisch gleichartig in die Zielsprache Spanisch übertrug. In diesem Fall stellte sich aufgrund der ‚Formelhaftigkeit‘ der Translate die Frage, an welcher Norm sich der Dolmetscher bei ihrer Erstellung anstatt der sprachlichen Gestalt der Ausgangstexte orientierte. In beiden Fällen kann der Diskurs der *miserables* als ein determinierender Faktor identifiziert werden, der – entweder durch die Befragten selbst oder aber durch den Dolmetscher – durchaus strategisch zur Beeinflussung der Rezeption der Zeugenaussagen und deren Konsequenzen eingesetzt wurde.

4.8 Konklusionen

Ausgehend von der Hypothese, dass sich die Translationspolitik in Neu-Spanien nur zu einem geringen Teil in Gesetzen niederschlägt, jedoch aus Translaten und in ihnen beobachtbaren Translationsprozeduren rekonstruieren lässt, wurde in diesem Beitrag zunächst das theoretische Konzept der Glottopolitik auf Translationspolitik übertragen. Zur sozio-politischen Einbettung der Analysen wurde auf den nicht spezifisch auf Translation bezogenen Aspekt europäischer Diskurse über die indigenen ‚Anderen‘ und damit verbundener spanischer Kolonialpolitik zurückgegriffen. In Analysen von Texten, die die Translationspraktiken und -prozeduren im Zuge der Evangelisierung zeigen, wurde zum einen herausgearbeitet, mit welchen Ideen dieser Diskurs in der Kirche geführt wurde, und zum anderen, inwiefern sich diese in den sprachlichen Verfahren der Translation christlicher Inhalte in die zapotekische Sprache niederschlagen. Hier war besonders interessant zu sehen, dass das diskursive Bild der Indigenen als Kinder, das Unmündigkeit und Unschuld einschließt, dazu führte, dass der spanische Ausgangstext durch zahlreiche und aufwändige Ergänzungen an ein Zielpublikum angepasst wurde, das sich als mit begrenzter Auffassungsgabe ausgestattet vorgestellt wurde. Es wurde der Begriff der ‚expandierenden Translation‘ vorgeschlagen; die Expansionen, die hier beobachtet wurden, sind insbesondere detaillierte Erklärungen und litaneiartige Wiederholungen für einzelne Teile des Ausgangstextes.

Ganz ähnliche Prozeduren zeigten sich in den Analysen der Translate im notariellen Bereich. Auch hier konnte anhand einer ins Zapotekische übersetzten königlichen Anordnung im Rahmen einer Währungsreform gezeigt werden, dass der ins Zapotekische übersetzte Text erhebliche Unterschiede zu der spanischen Vorlage aufweist. Diese Unterschiede manifestieren sich auf der sprachlichen Mikroebene, im lexikalischen Bereich, und dahingehend, dass Inhalte des Ausgangstextes im Translat ausgespart oder neue Inhalte eingefügt werden. Diese Unterschiede zwischen Ausgangs- und Zieltext verweisen auf die für den Zieltext neue situative Kontextualisierung und Funktion für die intendierten Textrezipienten. Umgekehrt zeigt sich in den juristisch-notariellen Texten jedoch auch, dass der Diskurs durch Indigene selbst sprachlich reproduziert wurde, was Protokolle verdolmetschter Zeugenaussagen verdeutlichen, die auffällige lexikalische sowie syntaktische Parallelen aufweisen und das Bild der unmündigen *miserables*, die ‚nicht wissen, was sie tun‘ hervorrufen. In solchen Fällen kann von einer strategischen Nutzung des Diskurses zum Zweck der Strafmilderung ausgegangen werden, die entweder bereits durch die indigenen Urheber*innen der verdolmetschten Äußerungen oder erst durch den Dolmetscher erfolgte.

Im kirchlichen wie auch im notariellen Kontext muss für die Analysen die Kategorie ‚Medienwechsel‘ einbezogen werden, die in jeweils unterschiedlicher Weise entscheidend für die Verinnerlichung der Inhalte durch die indigene Bevölkerung ist. Im Falle des Katechismus konnte für die Teile, die zwar schriftlich verfasst und übersetzt, jedoch mündlich von der indigenen Bevölkerung

wiederholt wurden, festgestellt werden, dass sie deren Stimme übernehmen, die mündliche Wiederholung aus ihrem Mund quasi antizipieren, und ihnen damit den sie charakterisierenden Diskurs zur Übernahme und Selbstzuschreibung aufoktroieren.

Für die Analyse der königlichen Anordnung zeigte sich der Medienwechsel darin, dass der schriftliche Text öffentlich verlautbart und damit als mündliche Kommunikationshandlung von der Bevölkerung gehört wurde. Hier wurde das aufgrund dieser Umstände bereits modifizierte Translat didaktisch überarbeitet, um die zu kommunizierenden Handlungsanweisungen für die indigene Bevölkerung verständlich zu machen. Der Diskurs der *indios miserables* nahm somit maßgeblichen Einfluss auf den Übersetzungsprozess der analysierten Dokumente; er kann sogar als ein Grund dafür angesehen werden, dass Translation überhaupt stattfand. Zuletzt besteht der Medienwechsel im Fall der Zeugenaussagen in der Übertragung gesprochener Sprache in einen schriftlichen Text, der zwar professionell überformt ist, jedoch die protokollierte Aussage möglichst getreu wiedergeben musste. Somit kann der Schrifttext weiterhin spezifische Merkmale der ursprünglichen mündlichen Äußerung beinhalten, die den Diskurs der Indigenen als *miserables* transportieren.

Es konnte gezeigt werden, dass Translation sowohl von der Seite der spanischen Kolonialmacht als auch der indigenen Bevölkerung praktiziert und verhandelt wurde. Für den sozio-politischen Kontext der kolonialen Gesellschaft, der durch eine asymmetrische Machtkonstellation gekennzeichnet war, ermöglichte Translation auch der in der sozio-politischen Hierarchie schlechter gestellten indigenen Bevölkerung Teilhabe an sozialen und politischen Aushandlungsprozessen und damit an der Konstruktion der kolonialen Gesellschaft.

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Kapitel 5

Übersetzung als Medium nationaler Selbstbehauptung – am Beispiel deutsch-französischer Wissenschaftsübersetzungen im 18. Jahrhundert



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5.1 Einleitung

Wann werden eigentlich welche Texte in eine Sprache übersetzt? Diese nur scheinbar triviale Frage lenkt das Augenmerk weg von den immanenten Qualitäten von Ausgangstexten hin zu Gegebenheiten innerhalb der Zielkultur, die die Entscheidung für das Übersetzen von Texten beeinflussen. Genau diese Gegebenheiten erfasst Gideon Tourys Begriff der ‚translation policy‘, der die Faktoren der Auswahl von Texten oder Textgruppen, die zu einer bestimmten Zeit in eine Zielsprache übersetzt werden, in den Blick nimmt, sofern diese Auswahl nicht völlig willkürlich erscheint.¹ Damit bietet er die Möglichkeit, einer großen Spannbreite an Einflussfaktoren, die zu Übersetzungen führen können, Rechnung zu tragen, die auch im Feld der Wissenschaftsübersetzungen von durchaus kontingenten Konstellationen (etwa der persönlichen Bekanntschaft zwischen Forschern und Übersetzern²) über Verlegerkalküle (wobei die nicht vulgarisierenden wissenschaftlichen Titel insgesamt keine spektakulären Gewinne einbrachten³), wissenschaftsstrategische Motive (wie bei den ‚widerlegenden‘ Übersetzungen der phlogistischen Fachliteratur durch Lavoisier) bis hin zur staatlichen Unterstützung

¹Vgl. Toury (2012), S. 82.

²Auf gegenderte Formen wird in diesem Text verzichtet, um keiner verzerrten Perspektive auf eine zeitgenössische Realität, in der Frauen kaum als Wissenschaftlerinnen oder Wissenschaftsübersetzerinnen tätig sein konnten, Vorschub zu leisten.

³Vgl. Juratic (2008).

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bestimmter Wirtschaftszweige reichen, die durch die Übersetzung einschlägiger Literatur gefördert werden sollten. Gerade für den letzteren Fall erscheint der Begriff der Übersetzungspolitik besonders angemessen, weshalb im Folgenden genau solch ein Übersetzungskontext in den Blick genommen werden soll, nämlich die Übersetzung bergbaurelevanter Literatur ins Französische im 18. Jahrhundert. Denn von diesen Übersetzungen versprach man sich unmittelbaren oder zumindest mittelbaren ökonomischen Nutzen, da etwa die Effizienz im Auffinden und beim Abbau von Erzen kausal mit der Handelsbilanz verknüpft war. Je mehr Erze etc. man importieren musste, desto mehr Devisen wanderten ins Ausland,⁴ ein Problem, das übrigens nicht nur Frankreich betraf, sondern alle Staaten,⁵ weshalb der Wettbewerb um Kompetenzen hier besonders virulent war. Was lag angesichts dieser Situation näher, als sich diese Kompetenzen anzueignen, indem man sie, wo immer sie vorzufinden waren, ins eigene Land überführte, u. a. mithilfe von Übersetzungen? Tatsächlich spiegelt sich diese Evidenz im Falle Frankreichs in Zahlen wider, die Ausdruck einer ‚Übersetzungspolitik‘ sind, die Hand in Hand mit wirtschafts- und bildungspolitischen Anstrengungen durch konkrete Übersetzungsförderung versuchte, das bergbaurelevante Wissen in Frankreich zu vermehren. So weist Patrice Bret für das 18. Jahrhundert mehr als 100 monographische Übersetzungen für die Bereiche Bergbau/Mineralogie/Chemie aus, mit einem erwartbar hohen Anteil von Übersetzungen aus dem Deutschen (37,5 %).⁶ Denn gerade die Bergbaukunde und die mit ihr verbundenen Disziplinen waren in Deutschland besonders fortgeschritten, und außerdem diente das Deutsche als Relaisprache für Publikationen aus dem Schwedischen, das ebenfalls mit renommierten Publikationen im Feld der Chemie/Mineralogie präsent war.

Rein statistisch ergibt sich also das Bild eines Wissenstransfers qua Übersetzung in Feldern, in denen Übersetzungen bestimmte inhaltliche Lücken schließen, die zu schließen im nationalen Interesse lag.

Nun hat bereits die Kulturtransferforschung nachgewiesen, dass solch ein Lückenfüllen eine etwas verkürzte Sichtweise darstellt, da Wissen in neuen Kontexten Transformationen unterliegt, die ein Containermodell von Transfer widerlegen. Für den Bereich des Bergbaus im 18. Jahrhundert haben historische Forschungen dann

⁴ So bemerkt Diderot in seinem *Encyclopédie*-Eintrag „Acier“ („Stahl“): „Il sort du Royaume près de trois millions par an pour l’acier qui y entre. Cet objet est assez considérable pour qu’on y fit plus d’attention, qu’on éprouvât nos fers avec plus de soin, & qu’on tâchât enfin d’en obtenir, ou de l’acier naturel, ou de l’acier artificiel, qui nous dispensât de nous en fournir auprès de l’étranger.“, „Pro Jahr verlassen fast drei Millionen das Königreich für den Stahl, der eingeführt wird. Dieser Gegenstand ist beachtlich genug, um ihm mehr Aufmerksamkeit zu schenken, um unsere Eisen mit mehr Sorgfalt zu probieren, & und um endlich davon entweder natürlichen Stahl oder künstlichen Stahl zu gewinnen, der uns davon befreien würde, uns aus dem Ausland damit zu versorgen.“ [Übers. C.M.; gilt auch für alle folgenden], Diderot (1751), S. 107.

⁵ Vgl. hierzu die Schilderung der Zusammenhänge zwischen Bergbau, allgemeinem Wohlstand und „Handlungsbalanz“ [sic] eines Landes in der „Abhandlung von den Grundsätzen der Berg-Kameralwissenschaft“ in Delius (1773), S. 9.

⁶ Vgl. Bret (2016), S. 124.

auch entsprechende Untersuchungen zu den nationalen Kontexten vorgenommen und dabei u. a. unterschiedliche Auffassungen über das Ausmaß staatlicher Lenkung wirtschaftlicher Prozesse und über die Ausbildung von Fachkräften in technisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Disziplinen herausgearbeitet.⁷ Auch nationale Widerstände bei der Adoption gewisser wissenschaftlicher Fortschritte ‚aus dem Ausland‘ wurden bereits analysiert, wie sie sehr prominent in den Debatten um das Phlogiston im 18. Jahrhundert zum Tragen kamen, als die Widerlegung der Phlogistontheorie zugleich als Angriff auf die deutsche Chemie aufgefasst werden konnte.⁸

Kaum jedoch wurden bislang die Übersetzungen, die in all diesen Transferprozessen von zentraler Bedeutung sind, angemessen gewürdigt. Zwar werden sie durchaus erwähnt, zumeist in Form von Aufzählungen⁹, die als suggestiver Beleg für Austausch- und Transferprozesse dienen sollen, doch damit ist ihr Erkenntnispotential noch keineswegs erschöpft. Denn ein Blick in die einzelnen Übersetzungen und insbesondere ihre Paratexte zeigt, wie Übersetzungen selbst zum Ort eines Konkurrenzgeschehens werden, bei dem weitaus mehr als der Transfer wissenschaftlichen Wissens verhandelt wird. Wie sich Übersetzungspolitik also gleichsam in der Präsentation der übersetzten Texte fortsetzt und wie die Zielkultur des Französischen den Wissensimport aus Deutschland gleichsam kulturell einhegt, soll im Folgenden anhand deutsch-französischer Übersetzungen aus dem Bereich Mineralogie im 18. Jahrhundert nachgezeichnet werden, und zwar in weitgehend chronologischer Reihenfolge.

5.2 Jean Hellot, *De la fonte des mines*

Den Anfang für die oben erwähnte Übersetzungskonjunktur deutscher mineralogischer Schriften macht dabei die 1750 bis 1753 erschienene Übersetzung *De la fonte des mines* von Jean Hellot. Dabei handelt es sich um die Übersetzung von Christoph Andreas Schlüters *Gründlichem Unterricht von Hütte-Werken. Nebst einem vollständigen Probier-Buch*, das 1738 in Braunschweig bei Meyer erschienen war. Der sehr lange Untertitel des Werks gibt dabei einen instruktiven Überblick über dessen Inhalte:

Gründlicher Unterricht Von Hütte-Werken: Worin gezeiget wird, Wie man Hütten-Werke auch alle dazu gehörige Gebäude und Oefen aus dem Fundament recht anlegen solle, auch wie sie am Hartz und andern Orten angeleget sind; Und wie darauf die Arbeit bey Gold-Silber- Kupfer- und Bley-Ertzen, auch Schwefel- Vitriol- und Aschen-Werken geführt werden müsse; Nebst einem vollständigem Probier-Buch, darin enthalten wie allerley Erzte auf alle Metalle zu probieren, die Silber auf unterschiedene Art fein zu brennen, Gold und Silber mit Vortheil zu scheiden und alles, so dazu gehöret, zu verrichten; Mit

⁷ Vgl. Garçon (2000), Brianta (2000), Vogel (2013).

⁸ Vgl. u. a. Hufbauer (1982), Kanz (1997).

⁹ Vgl. u. a. Birembaut (1986), Laboulais (2010), Barbian (1989), Lichtenbäumer (1988).

verschiedenen zu beyden Theilen gehörigen und nach dem Maaß-Stabe verfertigten Kupfern auch nöthigen Registern herausgegeben.

Wie man sieht, handelt es sich um ein denkbar umfassendes Werk, was seine Übersetzung besonders ergiebig erscheinen lässt. Wobei zu dieser Ergiebigkeit ein Detail beiträgt, das auch Hellot in seinem Vorwort lobend erwähnt,¹⁰ und zwar sind dies die Kupfer, denen in Schlüters Werk jeweils ein Maßstab beigelegt ist, was das maßstabgerechte Nachbauen der beschriebenen Objekte und Anlagen naturgemäß erleichtert. Neben der Maßstabstreue blieb aber das Problem der Übertragung der Maße, weshalb Hellot, wie er im zweiten Band in einer Fußnote erwähnt, eigens ein Lineal aus Sachsen kommen ließ, auf dem das von Schlüter verwendete Harzer sowie das Freiburger Maß aufgetragen waren, für die Hellot dann mit einiger Gewissheit die Entsprechung in der in Frankreich verwendeten Maßeinheit ‚Pieds du roi‘ angeben konnte.¹¹ Diese Umrechnungsarbeit war für Wissenschaftsübersetzungen nicht ungewöhnlich, und erklärt, warum Hellot die maßstabgerechten Kupfer Schlüters, die zumindest eine solide Ausgangsbasis für Umrechnungen boten, lobend hervorhob. Außerdem genieße Schlüters Werk, wie Hellot in seinen Vorworten erläutert, als eines der wenigen in diesem Feld einen guten Ruf.¹² Dieser Hinweis auf Prestige und Qualität des Ausgangstextes fehlt zugegebenermaßen in nahezu keinem Übersetzervorwort,¹³ erscheint bei Hellot jedoch besonders explizit. So lautet es im Vorwort des 1753 erschienenen zweiten Bandes:

De ce court exposé, il résulte qu'il étoit de la sagesse du Ministère, de faciliter aux Sujets du Roi les moyens de profiter des richesses que la nature leur offre ; on ne pouvoit le faire avec espérance de succès, qu'en leur communiquant les Procédés qui réussissent dans les autres Etats de l'Europe; c'est ce qui a déterminé Monsieur le Garde des Sceaux à ordonner la Traduction du meilleur Recueil que l'on connut de ces Procédés les plus modernes.

Aus dieser knappen Darstellung geht hervor, dass es der Weisheit des Ministeriums entsprach, den Untertanen des Königs die Nutzung der Reichtümer zu erleichtern, die die Natur ihnen bietet; man konnte dies mit Hoffnung auf Erfolg nur tun, indem man ihnen die Verfahren vermittelte, die in den anderen Staaten Europas erfolgreich sind; dies hat den Herrn *Garde des sceaux* dazu bewogen, die Übersetzung des besten Werkes anzuordnen, das man von diesen modernsten Verfahren kannte.¹⁴

Schlüters Werk wird hier also geradewegs als „das beste Buch“ auf dem Markt ausgewiesen, und nur ein solches ist für die Übersetzung gut genug. In das typi-

¹⁰Vgl. Hellot (1750), S. xxvj.

¹¹Vgl. Hellot (1753), S. 8.

¹²Vgl. Hellot (1750), S. xxxiiij.

¹³Wobei der satirische Hinweis in Nicolais *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldu Nothanker* dafür spricht, dass dies kein spezifisch französisches Problem war: „Außerdem giebt es auch Uebersetzer, die zeitlebens gar nichts anders thun als übersetzen; [...] Vornehme Uebersetzer, diese begleiten ihre Uebersetzungen mit einer Vorrede, und versichern die Welt, daß das Original sehr gut sey; [...]“; Nicolai (1773), S. 123.

¹⁴Hellot (1753), S. xv. Dt. Übers. der frz. Zitate C.M.

sche Lob des übersetzten Werkes mischt sich insofern eine interessante Nuance, denn es wird klar, dass man das Werk nicht allein um seiner selbst willen übersetzt, sondern weil man sich damit das Übersetzen weiterer Werke erspart. Maximaler Nutzen bei minimalem Einsatz ließe sich also als Devise der Schlüter-Übersetzung festhalten. Nichtsdestotrotz zeugt sie von einem staatlichen Engagement für Übersetzungen, da der Auftraggeber der Übersetzung, der erwähnte *garde des sceaux*, kein geringerer als Jean Baptiste de Machault war, seines Zeichens Ehrenmitglied der *Académie des sciences*, vor allem aber *contrôleur général des finances*, was in etwa dem Posten eines Finanzministers entspricht. Diese waren in Frankreich ab den 1740er Jahren offiziell mit Fragen des Bergbaus befasst¹⁵, wobei sich bereits Colbert als *contrôleur général des finances* unter Louis XIV. intensiv um die Anwerbung ausländischer Fachkräfte und Arbeiter für den heimischen Bergbau gekümmert hatte, nicht zuletzt aus Deutschland.¹⁶ Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint die Übersetzungsförderung durch de Machault durchaus als Fortsetzung staatlicher Bemühungen zur Optimierung des Bergbaus in Frankreich.¹⁷ Interessant ist aber eben, von welchen Diskursen dieses im Grunde ganz sachliche Anliegen begleitet wird. Dabei ließe sich durchaus beim Titelblatt anfangen, auf dem Schlüter als Originalautor zwar prominent auftaucht, Jean Hellot als Herausgeber bezeichnenderweise aber auch rot gedruckt ist, womit seine prominente Rolle für dieses Werk markiert ist. Dazu gesellt sich der Hinweis auf Hellots Akademiemitgliedschaft, der natürlich eine zusätzliche Aufwertung bedeutet, auch wenn er ein absolut typischer Hinweis auf Titelblättern ist. Außerdem fällt auf, dass das Werk zwar als Übersetzung – ‚traduction‘ – erscheint, Hellot aber als Herausgeber angeführt ist. Dies ist zum einen deshalb berechtigt, weil Hellot das Werk umgeordnet und ergänzt hat, zum anderen ist damit aber auch ein Problem umgangen, dem man erst bei Lektüre des Vorworts auf die Spur kommt, und das darin besteht, dass der eigentliche Übersetzer des Werks der deutsche Bergbauingenieur König war, den Hellot, wie er selbst schreibt, mit der Rohübersetzung von Schlüters Text beauftragt hat.

Mais ces sortes de Traités sont fort difficiles à traduire tel, qui rendra parfaitement en notre Langue un Livre d'Histoire ne pourra jamais mettre en François un Traité sur les Mines, s'il n'entend cette matiere; J'ai donc préféré, pour faire faire cette Traduction, le Sieur Koenig, Ingénieur des Mines, qui, depuis dix à douze ans, a été employé en France avec beaucoup de succès, par diverses Compagnies, exploitant des Mines dans ce Royaume. Il m'a rendu, sans rien obmettre, tous les détails de l'Auteur, & j'ai traduit de nouveau toute cette traduction.

¹⁵Zur institutionellen Ablösung der als ineffizient empfundenen Funktion der *grands maîtres*, die zuvor für Bergbau zuständig waren, vgl. Gille (1969).

¹⁶Vgl. dazu bereits Mathorez (1921).

¹⁷Dass de Machaults Wahl dabei auf Hellot fiel, erstaunt nicht, da dieser innerhalb der *Académie des sciences* mit Fragen der Regulierung von Kohlebergbau und Gold- und Silberveredelung befasst war, vgl. Wisniak (2009). Zu Hellots Rolle als Chemiker und ‚Staatsdiener‘ sowie zur Inanspruchnahme der *Académie* zu Zwecken der staatlichen Wirtschaftsförderung, vgl. Franckowiak (2015).

Aber diese Art Abhandlungen sind sehr schwer zu übersetzen, so dass, wer ein Geschichtswerk perfekt in unsere Sprache übersetzen würde, niemals eine Abhandlung über den Bergbau ins Französische übertragen könnte, wenn er diese Materie nicht beherrscht; Ich habe also, um diese Übersetzung vorzunehmen, den Herren Koenig vorgezogen, Bergbauingenieur, der, seit zehn, zwölf Jahren mit großem Erfolg in Frankreich beschäftigt ist, von verschiedenen Gesellschaften, die die Bergwerke in diesem Königreich betreiben. Er hat mir, ohne etwas wegzulassen, alle Details des Autors übertragen, & ich habe diese ganze Übersetzung erneut übersetzt.¹⁸

Auch hier begegnet uns ein Topos der Wissenschaftsübersetzungen, nämlich dass diese nur von Kennern der Materie angefertigt werden können und dass Sprachkenntnisse alleine nicht ausreichen. Noch aufschlussreicher für unseren Zusammenhang ist jedoch die Figur König im Speziellen, da er zwar fraglos ein Kenner war und mehrere Bergwerke erfolgreich leitete, seine Rolle in der Übersetzung Schlüters aber doch relativ unsichtbar bleibt. Dies zeigt sich denn auch in der Rezeption des Werkes, in der *De la fonte des mines* als Übersetzung oder gar Werk Hellots gilt, von König jedoch keine Rede mehr ist. Dies belegt sicher zum einen die Tendenz, den ‚französischen‘ Anteil an der Übersetzung zu betonen, zum anderen verweist es aber auch auf ein grundsätzliches Problem der Visibilität von Übersetzern, sofern diese über wenig eigenes wissenschaftliches und soziales Prestige verfügen. Bernard Gille beschreibt König in einer grundlegenden Studie als mittellos, als er mit der Übersetzung Schlüters beauftragt wird, und erst nach vielen Jahren erfolgreicher Arbeit in verschiedenen Bergwerken verbessert sich sein Status.¹⁹ In einer posthumen Publikation von Gabriel Jars erscheint er denn auch auf dem Titelblatt, als Quelle für die sogenannte ‚Géométrie souterraine‘²⁰, eine im Deutschen Markscheidekunst genannte Technik in den Bergwerken, Vermessungen vorzunehmen, die Jars von König gelernt hat. Dazu muss man wissen, dass König nicht nur Bergwerksverwalter war, sondern auch zur Ausbildung angehender Bergbauspezialisten herangezogen wurde, sowohl was die Techniken des Bergbaus als auch die deutsche Sprache anging, die für angehende Bergbau-fachkräfte zum Ausbildungsprogramm gehörte.²¹ Einer der ersten Schüler Königs war dabei besagter Gabriel Jars, der von König auf eine Erkundungstour durch Europa vorbereitet wurde, bei der Jars im Auftrag des *Contrôle général* und mitunter beraten durch Hellot Bergwerke inspizieren sollte, um die Kenntnisse dann in Frankreich nutzbar zu machen.²² Ob man einige dieser Reisen dabei, wie in der Fachliteratur zu finden, als Industriespionage ansieht,²³ mag dahingestellt bleiben. Jedenfalls aber sind sie im Kontext der staatlichen Bemühungen um den Bergbau

¹⁸ Hellot (1750), S. xxvij.

¹⁹ Gille (1969), S. 11. Dass König tatsächlich sehr erfolgreich Bergwerke leitete, bestätigt auch Virol (2010).

²⁰ Jars (1780a).

²¹ Vgl. Gille (1969), S. 12–13.

²² Vgl. Laboulais (2010).

²³ Vgl. Garçon (2000).

zu begreifen und fanden in den *Voyages metallurgiques* ihren Niederschlag, einer posthum von Jars Bruder herausgegebenen Schrift voller technischer Beobachtungen, in deren Vorwort auch auf Jean Hellots Übersetzung angespielt wird:

L'Art de l'exploitation des Mines & celui de la Métallurgie, n'ont pas acquis en France la même célébrité qu'en Allemagne, & chez les autres Nations de l'Europe, ils ont néanmoins fixé l'attention du Gouvernement, & des Savans patriotes qui se sont empressés de traduire les ouvrages les plus instructifs sur cette matière.

Die Kunst des Bergbaus & diejenige der Metallurgie haben in Frankreich nicht die gleiche Bekanntheit erreicht wie in Deutschland & in den anderen Nationen Europas, gleichwohl haben sie die Aufmerksamkeit der Regierung & der patriotischen Gelehrten auf sich gezogen, die sich eilig daran gemacht haben, die lehrreichsten Werke zu dieser Materie zu übersetzen.²⁴

Auch wenn Jean Hellot nicht explizit Erwähnung findet, so ist doch evident, dass seine Übersetzung hier mitgemeint ist, denn sie wird in der Folge der *Préface* sowie in nahezu allen folgenden Übersetzungen aus dem Bereich des Bergbaus erwähnt und kann somit als Referenz für nachfolgende Aktivitäten in diesem Feld angesehen werden. Wie unschwer zu erkennen, bestätigt auch Jars die staatliche Förderung des Bergbaus, die sich u. a. in Übersetzungen ausdrückt. Bemerkenswert ist dabei, dass diese Übersetzungen gleichsam als „patriotische Aufgabe“ betrachtet werden, was ein eher expliziter Hinweis auf einen national konnotierten Diskurs ist, der diese Übersetzungen begleitet. Subtiler findet sich dieser in den Übersetzervorworten selbst, auch in demjenigen Hellots. Denn dieser stellt wie Jars die Notwendigkeit fest, den französischen Bergbau durch Kenntnisse ausländischer Methoden zu stärken, lässt es sich jedoch nicht nehmen, folgendes zu dem von ihm übersetzten Werk auszuführen:

Ainsi j'ai jugé qu'il convenoit de le refondre, d'en supprimer les répétitions, qui sont un peu trop ennuyeuses, d'en changer la théorie, plus conforme aux idées grossières des ouvriers Allemands, que convenables au physicien, dont les principes sont beaucoup plus certains que ceux de l'Auteur; d'y joindre, soit dans le corps de l'ouvrage, dont le Traité de Schlutter sera la base, soit dans des Notes, les Observations de l'Auteur anonime d'un petit Ouvrage Allemand, qui a pour titre : *Ars fusoria fundamentalis & experimentalis*, celles de Mrs Saur & Blumenstein, Concessionnaires de Mines en France, que feu M. Orry, Contrôleur général des Finances, envoya en Saxe en 1742, pour y prendre des Instructions sur la manière de travailler dans le Pays; différens faits, tirés des Manuscrits de feu M. Homberg, que j'ai eus en communication, & et des observations particulieres de feu M. Grosse; enfin, ce que j'ai recieilli depuis vingt-cinq ou trente ans sur ces matieres.

Also habe ich beschlossen, dass es angebracht sei, es [Schlüters Werk] zu überarbeiten, die Wiederholungen daraus zu entfernen, die etwas zu ermüdend sind, die Theorie darin zu ändern, die eher den groben Vorstellungen der deutschen Arbeiter entspricht als den Physikern, deren Prinzipien sehr viel unbestreitbarer sind als diejenigen des Autors; ihm, entweder im Hauptteil der Arbeit, dessen Grundlage die Abhandlung Schlüters sein wird, oder in den Fußnoten, die Beobachtungen des anonymen Autors einer kleinen deutschen Schrift hinzuzufügen, die den Titel trägt: *Ars fusoria fundamentalis & experimentalis*, die-

²⁴ Jars (1780b), S. v.

jenigen von Herrn Saur & Blumenstein, Bergbauberechtigte in Frankreich, die der verstorbene Herr Orry, Generalkontrolleur der Finanzen, 1742 nach Sachsen geschickt hat, um dort Anleitungen zur Arbeitsweise im Land einzuholen; verschiedene Fakten, die dem Manuskript des verstorbenen Herrn Homberg entnommen sind, das ich einsehen konnte, & spezielle Beobachtungen des verstorbenen Herrn Grosse; schließlich das, was ich seit 25 oder 30 Jahren zu diesen Gegenständen zusammengetragen habe.²⁵

Dieses ausführliche Zitat sei hier gestattet, da sich darin gleich mehrere Charakteristika finden, die vielen Übersetzerworten in den Wissenschaftsübersetzungen gemeinsam sind. Da wäre zum einen der Hinweis auf Ergänzungen zum Text, die von Fußnoten bis hin zu ganzen Traktaten des Übersetzers reichen, aber auch Beiträge anderer Forscher beinhalten können. Teilweise erreichen diese Zusätze einen Umfang, der tatsächlich etwas von einer ‚Übermächtigung‘ des Ausgangstextes hat. Allerdings gilt es zu berücksichtigen, dass Zusätze zum einen von der *Académie des sciences* verlangt wurden, um eine Übersetzung zu befürworten, und dass sie außerdem ein Verkaufsargument für die Verleger darstellen konnten, da die Übersetzung so einen Mehrwert im Vergleich zum Ausgangstext aufwies. Insofern ist es nicht unerheblich, auf die genaue Ausgestaltung dieser Zusätze und die Wortwahl, mit der sie präsentiert wurden, zu achten, da sich nur so die Positionierungen gegenüber dem Ausgangstext erschließen. Im vorliegenden Fall Hellots ist bei diesen Zusätzen bezeichnend, dass darunter diejenigen von Bergwerksbesitzern (bzw. deren Söhnen) sind, die in französischem Auftrag nach Deutschland geschickt wurden (nämlich Saur und Blumenstein), womit natürlich der nationalen Anstrengung zur Förderung des ‚französischen‘ Minenwesens Rechnung getragen wird. Außerdem typisch ist der Hinweis auf eigene Tätigkeiten im Feld, die als Kompetenzausweis dienen, aber zumindest indirekt auch immer Defizite des übersetzten Textes nahelegen. Im französischen Kontext möglicherweise noch typischer als solche indirekten Hinweise auf inhaltliche Mängel oder Ergänzungsbedürftigkeit des Ausgangstextes sind jedoch die Hinweise auf stilistische Mängel des Ausgangstextes, die sich hier gleich eingangs finden. Ermüdende Wiederholungen sind dabei ein beliebter Kritikpunkt, um einen umständlichen, unklaren Stil zu kennzeichnen, und da dieser auch als Gegenbild zum klaren, konzisen Stil der französischen Wissenschaftsprosa dient, gehören die Hinweise auf stilistische Mängel zum Repertoire eines national konnotierten Diskurses, der die Wissenschaftsübersetzungen begleitet. Damit soll nicht behauptet sein, dass diese Unterschiede im wissenschaftlichen Stil gar nicht bestünden. Der Schweizer Arzt und Autor Johann Georg Zimmermann zumindest bestätigt diese zeitgenössisch, wenn er schreibt, Frankreich habe die Wissenschaft zu „attischer Anmut“²⁶ geführt. Ihre Thematisierung in den Übersetzerworten dient aber häufig der eigenen Aufwertung bei gleichzeitiger Abwertung des übersetzten Textes, so dass sie als Teil des

²⁵ Hellot (1750), S. xxviiij.

²⁶ Zimmermann (1768 [1758]), S. 268.

Konkurrenzgeschehens begriffen werden können, das die Übersetzungen prägt.²⁷ Bei Hellot zumindest trifft dies zu, insofern der Hinweis auf den Stil eine Passage einleitet, die eine einzige Relativierung der Qualität des Schlüterschen Werkes darstellt, durch den Hinweis auf eigene Eingriffe, Zusätze und Defizite Schlüters. Ein Grund für diese Bemühungen der dezenten Abwertung des übersetzten Textes mag dabei aus dem Ende des Vorworts abgeleitet werden, in dem sich Hellot als bloßer Übersetzer und Kompilator bezeichnet:

Ce que je présente au Public n'a d'autre mérite que celui d'une traduction & d'une compilation: mais il est quelquefois à propos d'abandonner à d'autres le plaisir ou la gloire de produire du nouveau, quand il résulte, d'une compilation, un avantage a peu près égal pour l'Etat.

Was ich dem Publikum hier präsentiere, ist lediglich eine Übersetzung & eine Kompilation: aber es ist manches Mal ratsam, anderen das Vergnügen und den Ruhm zu überlassen, Neues zu schaffen, wenn aus einer Kompilation ein in etwa gleich großer Vorteil für den Staat erwächst.²⁸

Was hier sehr deutlich wird, ist das fehlende Prestige der übersetzerischen Tätigkeit, die neben der Publikation eines Originalwerks völlig verblasst. Damit einher geht natürlich aber der indirekte Hinweis darauf, dass es im französischen Kontext an solch einem gleichwertigen Originalwerk mangelt. Die Tatsache der Übersetzung scheint so zu einem Eingeständnis eigener Defizite zu werden – was die Hervorkehrung eigener Kompetenz und Schwächen des Ausgangstextes gleichsam als kompensatorisch erscheinen lässt.²⁹

²⁷ Ein Beispiel aus dem 17. Jahrhundert zeigt dabei, wie früh die Sprachtopoi ausgeprägt waren, aber auch, dass die Fragen von Ab- und Aufwertung den Stilunterschieden keineswegs inhärent waren. So erläutert der Übersetzer Sauvvin in seinem Vorwort zur Übersetzung Wurtzius: „Et si mon stile parait rude & grossier, on me doit excuser; en ce que pour lors j'étois encore bien ignorant de la pureté & politesse de la langue Françoise, ayant été élevé dès ma jeunesse en Allemagne, outre que les mots choisis & les discours polits ne contribuent rien à la guérison des maladies de nos corps [...]“. „Und sollte mein Stil rau und grob erscheinen, muss man mich entschuldigen; denn zu dieser Zeit wusste ich noch nicht viel von der Reinheit und Vornehmheit der französischen Sprache, da ich seit meiner Geburt in Deutschland großgezogen worden war, abgesehen davon dass gewählte Worte & höfliche Reden nichts zur Genesung der Krankheiten unseres Körpers beitragen [...]“. Sauvvin (1672), o. S. Die nationalen Konnotationen von gutem französischen und schlechtem deutschen Stil sind hier bereits voll ausgeprägt, jedoch dient der Hinweis in diesem Fall nicht der Abwertung der eigenen ‚stillosen‘ Position, die hier als ‚gegenstandsangemessen‘ aufgewertet wird. Dieser Topos einer gewissen Toleranz gegenüber stilistischer Ineleganz bei Gegenständen, die in erster Linie nach sachlich korrekter Darstellung verlangen, findet sich bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts, womit zugleich gesagt ist, dass der Rekurs auf schlechten deutschen Stil in abwertender Absicht keine Notwendigkeit darstellte, sondern Ausdruck ‚nationaler‘ Motivationen sein konnte.

²⁸ Hellot (1750), S. xxx.

²⁹ In dieser Hinsicht scheinen sich Wissenschaftsübersetzungen nicht grundlegend von literarischen Übersetzungen zu unterscheiden, zu denen Hans-Georg Grüning bemerkt, sie stünden „entre la disponibilité d'absorber l'influence culturelle de la part d'autres littératures et le refus d'accepter cette influence“, „zwischen der Bereitschaft kulturelle Einflüsse von anderen Literaturen aufzunehmen und der Ablehnung dieser Einflüsse“, vgl. Grüning (1992), S. 1336.

Dieser Zusammenhang wird auch in den Kommentaren der *Académie des sciences* zu Hellots Übersetzung Schlüters deutlich. Grandjean de Fouchy bezeichnet in seiner *Eloge* auf Hellot dessen Übersetzung als fast schon eigenständiges Werk:

c'est beaucoup moins une traduction qu'un ouvrage absolument neuf : il n'y a conservé que le fond de Shlutter, tout l'arrangement est de lui, il y a joint un grand nombre de procédés dont le premier auteur n'avait point parlé, & des articles très-essentiels qu'il avoit absolument omis ; en un mot il en a fait un ouvrage qui ne laisse rien à désirer [...] c'est cependant ce qu'il donne pour une simple traduction : Bien des gens se sont souvent cru Auteurs à meilleur marché.

Es ist viel weniger eine Übersetzung als ein gänzlich neues Werk: er hat nur die Grundlage Shlutters [sic!] behalten, die gesamte Anordnung ist von ihm, er hat ihm eine Vielzahl an Verfahren hinzugefügt, von denen der Erstautor nicht gesprochen hatte, & sehr wesentliche Artikel, die er ganz weggelassen hatte; in einem Wort, er hat daraus ein Werk gemacht, das nichts zu wünschen übrig lässt [...] doch gibt er dies als schlichte Übersetzung aus: Es gibt viele, die sich oft mit weniger guten Gründen für Autoren gehalten haben.³⁰

Wo nur Autorschaft, verstanden als Gegenpart zu Übersetzung, Prestige verleiht, ist es naheliegend, Übersetzer zu Autoren zu machen, wenn man sie loben möchte. Ihre Übersetzungstätigkeit an sich erscheint vor diesem Hintergrund als selbstaufopfernde Tätigkeit, die der Nation einen Dienst erweist, ihr aber nicht wirklich zu Ehre gereicht. Dies bleibt nur den Autoren vorbehalten. So sehr man jedoch versuchen mochte, Hellot im Grunde als Autor von *De la fonte des mines* darzustellen und so sehr Hellot in der ausführlichen *Préface* zum ersten Band, aber auch innerhalb des Textes eigene Beobachtungen zum Problem des Bergbaus in Frankreich ergänzt, so bleibt es doch eine Tatsache, dass das Werk in großen Teilen tatsächlich eine Übersetzung Schlüters darstellt – und es sollte nicht die letzte Übersetzung deutscher mineralogischer Schriften im Frankreich des 18. Jahrhunderts bleiben. Vielmehr folgen auf Hellot eine ganze Reihe weiterer Übersetzungen von Monographien aus dem Bereich der Mineralogie, die hier nur exemplarisch vorgestellt werden können, aber doch so, dass die wiederkehrenden Topoi deutlich werden.

5.3 Hellots ‚Nachfolger‘

5.3.1 Geoffroy, *L'Art d'essayer les mines*

Als weitere von einem Mitglied der *Académie des sciences* verfasste Übersetzung erscheint 1759 Geoffroys Übersetzung von Christian Karl Schindlers *Metallische Probier-Kunst* aus dem Jahr 1697. Genau wie bei dem *Académicien* Hellot findet

³⁰ Grandjean de Fouchy (1766), S. 175.

diese Zugehörigkeit zur *Académie* Geoffroys auch im Titel des Werks und auf dem Titelblatt Erwähnung.³¹ Da diese Übersetzung erst posthum erschienen ist, fehlt ein reiches Übersetzervorwort wie es Hellots Übersetzung aufweist, trotzdem ist der *Avis*, der der Übersetzung Geoffroys voransteht, für den vorliegenden Zusammenhang interessant. Denn er enthält neben dem obligatorischen Verweis auf die Qualität von Schindlers Werk, das zwar bereits älter, aber geschätzt sei, den Topos der stilistischen Mängel.

Schindlers, n'a pas gardé l'ordre général de la métallurgie; & souvent, après avoir traité de chaque métal en particulier, il se trouve obligé de revenir à traiter des essais en général. Le traducteur aurait pu changer cet ordre; mais il s'est contenté de retrancher des répétitions inutiles.

Schindlers hat die übliche Ordnung der Metallurgie nicht bewahrt & findet sich häufig, nachdem er jedes Metall im Besonderen behandelt hat, gezwungen, zu den Proben im Allgemeinen zurückzukehren. Der Übersetzer hätte diese Ordnung ändern können; aber er hat sich damit begnügt, die unnötigen Wiederholungen zu streichen.³²

Wie bei Hellot findet sich also auch hier der Hinweis auf die unnötigen Wiederholungen, die der Übersetzer getilgt habe, in einer Formulierung, deren Tonfall erneut eine gewisse, zumindest stilistische Unterlegenheit des Ausgangstextes suggeriert. Auf eine nicht stilistische, aber tatsächlich fachliche Kompetenz verweist eine andere Passage des *Avis*, in der behauptet wird, dass der Übersetzer Geoffroy zwei Jahre für die Überprüfung der Verfahren Schindlers gebraucht habe. Damit ist eine sehr wichtige Funktion von Wissenschaftsübersetzungen angesprochen, die häufig vernachlässigt oder gar ignoriert wird und die in der Replikation der in den Ausgangstexten geschilderten Versuche liegt. Wird eine solche Kontrolle des Textes durch Replikation unterlassen und findet ein späterer Kommentator solche Fehler, wird dies den Übersetzungen angelastet, was darauf schließen lässt, dass es sich um eine Norm handelte. Damit ist nicht gesagt, dass sie immer eingehalten wurde – das ist bei Normen ja sogar regelmäßig nicht der Fall –, aber es bestätigt natürlich den Anspruch an die wissenschaftlichen Übersetzer, kompetente Wissenschaftler zu sein. Weshalb es nicht verwundert, dass auch Mitglieder der *Académie des sciences* übersetzerisch tätig wurden, wie bei Hellot oder eben dem Chemiker Geoffroy der Fall. Bezeichnend für den Konkurrenzdiskurs, der die Übersetzungen begleitet, ist es jedoch, wenn der Kompetenzausweis des Übersetzers zu einem zentralen Anliegen der Übersetzung zu werden scheint. So kommentiert die *Académie des sciences* in ihrem Gutachten zu Geoffroys Übersetzung, diese sei ein „Zeugnis der Kenntnis und Fähigkeiten Monsieur Geoffroys in Chemie“³³. Dies mag durchaus zutreffen. Da die Kompetenz von Akademiemitgliedern aber eigentlich vorausgesetzt ist, erscheint dieser Hinweis doch zumindest teilweise von dem

³¹ Vgl. Geoffroy (1759).

³² Geoffroy (1759), S. v.

³³ „[...] cette traduction est un témoignage de la connaissance et de la capacité de Monsieur Geoffroy en chimie.“, *Académie des Sciences* (1757), S. 45.

Bedürfnis motiviert, der im Ausgangstext ‚evidenten‘ ausländischen Kompetenz eine ‚eigene‘, ‚nationale‘ entgegensetzen.

5.3.2 *D’Holbach*

Ebenfalls im Jahr 1759 erschien eine weitere Übersetzung, die für den Bergbau von Interesse war, und zwar Lehmanns *L’Art des mines*. Der Übersetzer blieb hier anonym, es handelte sich aber bekanntermaßen um d’Holbach.³⁴ Dieser hatte bereits 1752 im Vorwort zu seiner Übersetzung von Neris Glasmacherkunst, die auch eine Übersetzung von Kunckels deutscher Neuübersetzung Neris sowie vieler weiterer deutscher Texte enthielt,³⁵ angekündigt, dass er sich um die Übersetzung deutscher Wissenschaft bemühen wollte:

L’envie de me rendre utile, dont tout citoyen doit être animé, m’a fait entreprendre l’ouvrage que je présente au Public. S’il a le bonheur de mériter son approbation, quoiqu’il y ait peu de gloire attachée au travail ingrat et fastidieux d’un Traducteur, je me déterminerai à donner les meilleurs ouvrages allemands, sur l’Histoire Naturelle, la Minéralogie, la Métallurgie et la Chymie. Tout le monde sait que l’Allemagne possède en ce genre des trésors qui ont été jusqu’ici comme enfouis pour la France.

Das Bedürfnis, mich nützlich zu machen, von dem jeder Bürger beseelt sein sollte, hat mich das Werk unternehmen lassen, das ich dem Publikum vorstelle. Wenn ihm das Glück beschert sein sollte, dessen Zuspruch zu erhalten, wiewohl der undankbaren und langwierigen Arbeit eines Übersetzers wenig Ruhm anhaftet, so würde ich mich entschließen, die besten deutschsprachigen Werke zu übersetzen, über Naturgeschichte, Mineralogie, Metallurgie und Chemie. Alle Welt weiß, dass Deutschland in dieser Beziehung Schätze besitzt, die für Frankreich bislang wie verschüttet waren.³⁶

Angesichts der zahlreichen Übersetzungen, die d’Holbach tatsächlich angefertigt hat – zu erwähnen sind neben Übersetzungen Lehmanns und Neris bzw. Kunckels noch solche Henckels, Orschalls, Wallerius (auf Basis einer deutschen Relais-Übersetzung), Gellerts und Stahls – lässt sich durchaus behaupten, dass d’Holbach sein Versprechen eingelöst hat, zumal man diesen Übersetzungen von Monographien noch zahllose Einträge für die *Encyclopédie* hinzufügen kann, in denen d’Holbach im Bereich Mineralogie seine umfangreichen Kenntnisse insbesondere der deutschen Fachliteratur vermitteln konnte. Dabei sollte jedoch nicht

³⁴Vgl. Vercauysse (1971). Der Zeitgenosse Naigeon erwähnt in seinem Nachruf auf d’Holbach dessen Übersetzungen naturgeschichtlicher und chemischer Werke aus dem Deutschen als Pionierleistung, vgl. Naigeon (1789), S. 175.

³⁵Dass diese Juxtaposition verschiedener Texte verschiedener Autoren in Übersetzungen, deren Freiheitsgrade nicht immer leicht nachvollziehbar sind und damit ein Verschwimmen der Rollen von Autor, Herausgeber und Übersetzer bewirken, nicht allein typisch für d’Holbachs Publikationspraxis ist, sondern ein allgemeiner Zug der Wissenschaftsübersetzungen der Zeit, bemerkt zutreffend Kozul (2016), S. 63.

³⁶[D’Holbach] (1752), S. viij.

übersehen werden, dass d’Holbach diese Übersetzungen sicher nicht zuletzt aus eigenem Interesse an naturwissenschaftlicher Erkenntnis anfertigte, die dem Materialisten d’Holbach entgegenkam, aber auch auf Wunsch Malesherbes, dem enzyklopädiefreundlichen Zensurchef, der, wie d’Holbach in seiner Widmung zu *L’Art de la verrerie* vermerkt, den Wunsch geäußert habe, „die besten Werke der Deutschen in Französisch erscheinen zu sehen“.³⁷ Nun würde es eine eigene Studie erfordern, d’Holbachs übersetzerisches Oeuvre im Bereich der Mineralogie umfassend zu würdigen, daher seien hier nur einige Beobachtungen erwähnt, die für die Frage nach den ‚nationalen‘ Diskursen in den Übersetzungen relevant sind.³⁸ Dabei fällt auf, dass die nationalen Gegebenheiten bei d’Holbach durchaus eine Rolle spielen, so wenn er im genannten Vorwort andeutet, dass Deutschland im Bereich der Mineralogie und Metallurgie einen Wissensvorsprung vor Frankreich habe. Allerdings beschreibt er diese Situation nicht als eine der bedrohlichen Konkurrenz, sondern als Ansporn, mehr über Mineralogie zu lernen, weshalb Übersetzungen angefertigt würden, um „von den Erkenntnissen unserer Nachbarn profitieren zu können“.³⁹ Dieses Ziel einer größeren mineralogischen Bildung oder zumindest eines wachsenden Interesses für den Gegenstand, wird auch in seinem Vorwort zur Übersetzung Henckels 1756 deutlich, in dem er sich gleichsam über erste Erfolge freuen kann: „Le goût de l’Histoire Naturelle, de la Chymie & des connoissances utiles, paroît augmenter de jour en jour en France;“, „Das Interesse für Naturgeschichte, Chemie und nützliche Kenntnisse scheint in Frankreich von Tag zu Tag zuzunehmen.“⁴⁰ Der Hinweis auf die nützlichen Kenntnisse macht dabei deutlich, dass es d’Holbach nicht um schönggeistiges Interesse geht, sondern durchaus um Interesse an anwendbaren Kenntnissen. Aber die Grundidee scheint zu sein, dass wenn sich Kenntnisse verbreiten, sich irgendwann auch der Nutzen einstellt. Dies erklärt auch, warum d’Holbach schon etwas ältere Werke wie dasjenige Orschalls übersetzt, da es ihm sozusagen um das Übersetzen eines mineralogischen Kanons zu gehen scheint. Insofern ist es auch kaum überraschend, dass er sich im Vorwort zur Übersetzung Orschalls auf Hellots Übersetzung Schlüters beruft und sich in dessen Bemühungen um das Zugänglichmachen deutscher mineralogischer Schriften einreihet.⁴¹ Mit Orschall fügt er diesen Anstrengungen eine Schrift hinzu, die in einigen technischen Aspekten weiterhin nützlich sei, weshalb man über veraltete theoretische Annahmen und alchemistische Gedankengebäude, die d’Holbach sehr umsichtig historisiert, hinwegsehen könne, „ubi plura

³⁷ „de voir paroître en François les meilleurs Ouvrages des Allemands“, [D’Holbach] (1752), o. PS.

³⁸ Bewusst ausgeblendet bleibt daher u. a. das viel kommentierte Übersetzervorwort in Lehmanns *Essai d’une Histoire naturelle de couches de la terre*, in dem d’Holbach Erklärungen der Erdschichten, die eine vollständige Konformität mit der Genesis anstreben, mit empirischen Einwänden konfrontiert, vgl. [D’Holbach] (1759b).

³⁹ „pour [...] pouvoir profiter des lumières de nos voisins“, [D’Holbach] (1760a), S. viij–ix, viij.

⁴⁰ [D’Holbach] (1756), S. viij.

⁴¹ Vgl. [D’Holbach] (1760a), S. viij–ix.

nitent in carmine, non ego paucis offendar maculis“, so d’Holbach mit Horaz. Was er allerdings vollends tilgt, sind alle persönlichen Animositäten, die in Orschalls Text vorhanden sind⁴², sowie, kaum überraschend, die stilistischen Mängel. „Diffuse“ und „unnötige Details“, „unerträgliche Längen“, all dies findet bei d’Holbach keine Gnade und wird ‚zum Wohle des Lesers‘ entfernt.⁴³ Gleiches gilt übrigens für seine Übersetzung von Henckels *Pyritologie*, in der Wiederholungen gestrichen werden mussten, um dem Leser ‚vor dem Abscheu einer zu wörtlichen Übersetzung‘⁴⁴ zu bewahren. Lehmanns Werk wiederum kommt in dieser Hinsicht sehr gut weg; es überzeuge durch Ordnung und Klarheit, sei damit aber eher eine Ausnahme.⁴⁵ Der Topos der stilistischen Verbesserung fehlt mithin in keinem der Vorworte d’Hobachs (auch beim Italiener Neri, dessen Werk er als „diffus, mais excellent“⁴⁶ beschreibt, tilgt er die Wiederholungen), ist aber in einem insgesamt höflich-wohlwollenden Duktus aufgehoben. Insofern entsprechen d’Hobachs Übersetzervorworte eher den Idealen der *République des lettres*, in der nationale Vorurteile keine wesentliche Rolle spielen sollten und alle Nationen an einem universellen Ziel arbeiten.⁴⁷ Begeistert äußert er sich daher über die Absicht des Mineralogen Wallerius, erst die Kritik von allen ausländischen Wissenschaftlern aufzunehmen, ehe er eine lateinische Übersetzung seiner Mineralogie und Hydrologie verfassen werde: „J’exhorte tous mes lecteurs de concourir à des vues si belles. Qu’il serait heureux que cette description du Règne minéral, augmentée des observations de toutes les nations, devint un jour un livre universel.“, ‚Ich halte alle meine Leser dazu an, solch schöne Ansichten zu unterstützen. Wie trefflich

⁴²Vgl. [D’Holbach] (1760a), S. 154: „On a retranché de la traduction toutes les plaintes & personnalités de l’Auteur [...]“, ‚Aus der Übersetzung wurden alle Klagen und persönlichen Befindlichkeiten des Autors getilgt.‘ Noch deutlicher wird d’Holbach im Vorwort zur *Art de la verrerie* Neris, dem ebenfalls eine Übersetzung Orschalls beigefügt ist: „Qui a-t’il en effet de plus méprisable & de plus indigne des Sciences que les injures d’Auteur à Auteur?“, ‚Was gibt es in der Tat Verächtlicheres und den Wissenschaften Unwürdigeres, als Beleidigungen zwischen Autoren?‘, [D’Holbach] (1752), S. vj. In beiden Fällen tilgt d’Holbach die persönlichen Invektiven aus Orschalls Text, und verschafft so den Regeln der *République des lettres* Geltung, in der Kritik idealerweise sachbezogen erfolgen sollte.

⁴³„on s’est aussi dispensé de traduire des détails diffus et ennuyeux.“, [D’Holbach] (1760a), S. 154. „afin de sauver au Lecteur les détails inutiles et les longueurs fastidieuses dont l’original est rempli“, [D’Holbach] (1760a), S. 238.

⁴⁴„afin d’épargner aux Lecteurs les dégoûts d’une traduction trop littérale.“, [D’Holbach] (1760b), S. vi.

⁴⁵„on y trouvera de la simplicité, de l’ordre & de la netteté, qualités nécessaires dans des Traités élémentaires, & que l’on ne rencontre pas toujours dans plusieurs autres écrits sur la même matière.“, ‚Man findet darin Einfachheit, Ordnung & Klarheit, notwendige Eigenschaften in solchen Grundlagenwerken, & die man in mehreren anderen Schriften zur selben Materie nicht immer antrifft.‘, [D’Holbach] (1759a), S. iv.

⁴⁶[D’Holbach] (1752), S. ij.

⁴⁷Bezeichnenderweise nutzt auch Patrice Bret den Gegensatz zwischen Übersetzungen als Teil der „*République des lettres*“ und als „*affaire d’état*“ in einem Kontext ‚rivalisierender Mächte‘, vgl. Bret (2010), S. 334.

wäre es, wenn diese Beschreibung der mineralischen Welt, vermehrt um die Beobachtungen aller Nationen, eines Tages ein universelles Buch werden würde.⁴⁸ Dass d'Holbach sich solchen universalistischen Zielen verschreiben konnte, hatte sicher auch mit seiner Situation als Privatgelehrter zu tun, der noch dazu nicht in Konkurrenz mit den Wissenschaftlern stand, die er übersetzte, da er keine wissenschaftliche Reputation genoss. Er war primär Übersetzer und *homme de lettres*, nicht Forscher. Sein wissenschaftlicher Berater Rouelle war bezeichnenderweise Demonstrator im *Jardin des plantes*, wo Wissenschaft öffentlich vorgeführt wurde, was nicht ausschloss, dass auch sehr gute Wissenschaftler diesen Demonstrationen folgten, etwa Lavoisier, was aber doch sehr gut zum universalistischen Ansatz d'Holbachs zu passen scheint. Auch Diderot gehörte übrigens zu den ‚Schülern‘ Rouelles. Festzuhalten bleibt jedenfalls, dass die Übersetzungen d'Holbachs ohne ostentative kompensatorische Hinweise auf französische Leistungen auskommen und der nationale Konkurrenzcharakter in ihnen weitgehend außen vor bleibt, womit er eher aus dem Rahmen fällt.⁴⁹ Denn auch in den chronologisch nachfolgenden Übersetzungen mineralogischer Schriften ist dieser Konkurrenzcharakter unverkennbar, nicht zuletzt in denjenigen Antoine-Grimoald Monnets.

5.3.3 Monnet, *Traité de l'exploitation des mines*

Der 1773 anonym erschienene *Traité de l'exploitation des mines* ist als Übersetzung aus dem Deutschen gekennzeichnet. Allerdings bleiben die genauen Quellen dieser Übersetzung etwas intransparent, was dem Übersetzer Monnet sogar Kritik von Seiten der *Académie* einbrachte.⁵⁰ Hauptquelle ist sicher der *Bericht vom Bergbau*, ein auf den Edelsteininspektor Kern zurückgehendes Werk, das Friedrich Wilhelm von Oppel, einer der Mitbegründer der Freiburger Bergakademie, in Freiberg zu Lehrzwecken nutzte. Besagten Oppel erwähnt Monnet denn auch fairerweise in seinem Vorwort, wenn auch mit einem anderen Werk zur Markschei-

⁴⁸ [D'Holbach] (1753), S. xij.

⁴⁹ Insofern bestätigt sich der Eindruck Werners und Espagnes, die bei d'Holbach und der *Encyclopédie* eine nationale Verortung des Wissens feststellen, die aber der Sammlung des Wissens zu universalistischen Zwecken dient, vgl. Espagne und Werner (1987). Dass die nationale Verortung auch einen sehr viel stärkeren Fokus auf eigene nationale Vorteile, ohne allzu ausgeprägte universalistische Perspektiven mit sich bringen konnte, zeigt der Vergleich mit den anderen hier berücksichtigten Übersetzungen.

⁵⁰ Vgl. Macquer und Morand (1778), S. xvj. Die Kritik, die sich vor allem auf die fehlende Nachvollziehbarkeit der Quellen und eigenen Zusätze Monnets bezieht, weist auf das im 18. Jahrhundert durchaus bereits vorhandene Ideal der Wissenschaftsübersetzungen als vollständig getreuer Wiedergabe eines Ausgangstextes hin. Die Praxis belegt jedoch, dass dieses Ideal im 18. Jahrhundert in einer gewissen Konkurrenz mit dem Ideal einer Übersetzung als adressatengerechter ‚Optimierung‘ des Ausgangstextes stand, weshalb man etwa bei Hellot gerade die ‚Eigenständigkeit‘ der Übersetzung loben konnte.

dekunst: „Je n'ai même pu, pour la composer, tirer que très peu de secours des Allemands, excepté de l'ouvrage de feu M. d'Oppel, Directeur général des Mines de Freyberg, qui traite de la géométrie souterraine.“, „Ich konnte, um es zu verfassen, noch nicht einmal viel von den Deutschen lernen, ausgenommen von dem Werk des verstorbenen Herrn von Oppel, Generaldirektor der Freiburger Bergwerke, das von der Markscheidekunst handelt.“⁵¹ Bemerkenswert ist hier bereits der tendenziell abwertende Ton gegenüber den deutschen Wissenschaftlern, von denen Monnet kaum etwas habe lernen können. Dieser Hinweis dient natürlich zum einen der Heraushebung eigener, individueller Originalität. Gleichzeitig jedoch hat er einen kollektivierenden Charakter, der die Überlegenheit der sogar so bezeichneten „Deutschen“ indirekt anerkennt – selbst von ihnen gab es nichts zu lernen, was bedeutet, normalerweise gibt es immer etwas von ihnen zu lernen – sie aber zugleich wieder einhegt, da man in diesem Fall eben ganz auf ihre Erkenntnisse verzichten konnte. Wie überzeugend diese Abgrenzung ist, mag dahingestellt bleiben. Immerhin basiert Monnets Arbeit auf einer Reise in die deutschen Bergbaugebiete, die ihm Trudaine aufgetragen hatte, seines Zeichens als *intendant des finances* mit Fragen des Bergbaus betraut. Diese Reisen nach Deutschland waren für die Ausbildung im Bergbau unabdingbar, wie schon die erwähnten frühen Reisen Sauris und Blumensteins illustrieren, führten aber, wie bei dem späteren Generalinspektor für Bergbau Monnet zu beobachten ist, nicht unbedingt zu großer Sympathie für Deutschland.⁵² Vielmehr scheint das Lernen von deutschen Vorbildern, ob vor Ort oder eben auch durch Übersetzung, eine lästige Notwendigkeit – was aus den Übersetzern aus dem Deutschen sozusagen ‚Leidensgenossen‘ macht:

D'ailleurs, presque tous leurs ouvrages de mines sont dépourvus absolument de méthode ; tout y est présenté par sentences ou par paragraphes, qui se rapportent les uns aux autres. De là ces répétitions, ou ces renvois qui dégoûtent le Lecteur : on est d'ailleurs accablé de noms & de définitions inutiles, & qui ne signifieraient rien parmi nous. Tout homme qui entreprend de travailler d'après des ouvrages Allemands d'arts doit s'armer d'assez de patience pour franchir des obstacles sans nombre qu'il rencontre.

Im Übrigen entbehren fast alle ihre Werke zum Bergbau jeglicher Methode; alles ist darin in Sentenzen oder Paragraphen präsentiert, die sich jeweils aufeinander beziehen. Daher diese Wiederholungen, oder Verweise, die den Leser ermüden: weiterhin wird man mit unnötigen Begriffen & Definitionen traktiert & die bei uns nichts bedeuten würden. Jeder, der sich vornimmt, ausgehend von deutschen Werken zu arbeiten, muss sich mit ausreichendem Geduld wappnen, um zahllose Hindernisse zu überwinden, auf die er stößt.⁵³

⁵¹ Monnet (1773), S. xiv.

⁵² Oder, wie es Birembaut formuliert: „Ces voyages à l'étranger apparaissant comme des expédients peu dignes d'un grand pays, l'Administration royale [...] ressentit la nécessité de former en France [...] des techniciens aptes [...] et [...] des agents spécialisés de l'Etat [...]“, „Da diese Reisen ins Ausland wie Notlösungen schienen, die einem großen Land kaum würdig waren, wurde die königliche Administration der Notwendigkeit gewahr, in Frankreich [...] fähige Techniker [...] und [...] spezialisierte staatliche Fachkräfte auszubilden [...]“, Birembaut (1986), S. 377.

⁵³ Monnet (1773), S. viij.

Zwar geht es hier vordergründig ‚nur‘ um stilistische Fragen, doch die Verve, mit der Monnet die Defizite der deutschen mineralogischen Schriften moniert, die hier interessanterweise auch als Kollektiv angesprochen sind, verleiht diesen Passagen einen doch deutlich abwertenden Unterton.

5.3.4 *Baron de Dietrich, Lettres sur la minéralogie*

Eine etwas andere Dynamik der Auf- und Abwertung liegt bei den Übersetzungen des Baron Dietrich vor, einem zweisprachigen Elsässer, der selbst Bergwerke betrieb und später Mitglied der *Académie des Sciences* wurde. Was an seinen Übersetzungen auffällt, ist ein konstantes Bemühen, eigene Kenntnisse und Stärken hervorzuheben, wobei er alle ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Paratexte nutzt. Das Konkurrenzverhältnis ist in seinen Übersetzungen also vornehmlich eines zwischen Individuen, wie es sehr anschaulich an Dietrichs Übersetzung von Ferbers *Briefen aus Wälschland* zu sehen ist. Das Übersetzerwort beginnt hier bezeichnenderweise mit dem Satz: „J’ai précédé Ferber en Italie;“, ‚Ich bin vor Ferber in Italien gewesen.⁵⁴‘, womit sogleich gesagt ist, dass alles Folgende genauso gut hätte von Dietrich stammen können. Da Ferber Dietrich jedoch mit der Publikation seiner Beobachtungen aus Italien zuvorgekommen ist, ist die Übersetzung Ferbers für Dietrich ein willkommener Anlass, zumindest in Kommentarform deutlich zu machen, dass er ähnliche Beobachtungen auch gemacht hat, ja, dass er zum Teil sogar an Orte gelassen wurde, zu denen Ferber meinte, exklusiven Zutritt erhalten zu haben. Für unsere Untersuchung relevanter als diese mitunter arrogant wirkenden persönlichen Einlassungen Dietrichs sind jedoch Kommentare, in denen auch eine kollektive Dimension zum Tragen kommt, so etwa, wenn Dietrich Ferbers Schilderung einer sehr schönen ‚chaussée impériale‘, auf der er über einen Berg gen Süden reist, folgendermaßen kommentiert:

Elle est belle, il est vrai, mais les montées en sont souvent si roides, que six à huit bœufs attelés devant quatre forts chevaux sont à peine suffisants pour traîner les carrosses au sommet de la montagne quoiqu’on ait la précaution de faire mettre pied à terre aux voyageurs. Combien de montagnes avons-nous en France, que nous montons insensiblement & qui sont aussi élevées.

Sie ist schön, das ist wahr, aber die Steigungen sind mitunter so steil, dass sechs bis acht Ochsen, die vor vier starke Pferde gespannt sind, kaum ausreichen, um die Kutschen bis zum Gipfel zu ziehen, wiewohl man so umsichtig ist, die Reisenden aussteigen zu lassen. Wie viele Berge haben wir in Frankreich, die wir mühelos besteigen & die ebenso hoch sind.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Dietrich (1776), o. S.

⁵⁵Dietrich (1776), S. 2.

Damit zeigt Dietrich nicht nur, dass er selbst ganz offensichtlich schon besagte Straße bereist hat, sondern er fügt sich auch in ein nationales Kollektiv ein, ein französisches ‚wir‘ – das eben *auch* „schöne Berge“ hat.

5.3.5 *Schreiber, Traité sur la science de l'exploitation des mines*

Dieses ‚wir‘, das in vielen Übersetzungen anzutreffen ist, fehlt bezeichnenderweise in der 1778 erschienenen Übersetzung von Delius' *Anleitung zu der Bergbaukunst* durch den in Frankreich tätigen, aber aus Sachsen stammenden Ingenieur Schreiber. Dieser betont in seinem Vorwort den Nutzen der Übersetzung deutscher Fachliteratur für Frankreich, entschuldigt sich für gewisse stilistische Schwächen der Übersetzung⁵⁶ und tritt im Grunde als bescheidener Dienstleister auf, der er auch war. Denn die *Académie* forderte von ihm neben der Übersetzung von Delius die Übersetzung zusätzlicher Schriften, die dem Werk von Delius beigegeben wurden, um es in einigen Teilen zu ergänzen. Ansonsten war man, wie aus dem Gutachten der *Académie* hervorgeht, das den begutachteten Übersetzungen wie üblich beigelegt ist, sehr zufrieden mit Schreibers Arbeit, „à laquelle il n'y a que quelques phrases à changer pour le Français“, „bei der nur einige Sätze wegen des Französischen geändert werden müssen.“⁵⁷ Die Markierung der sprachlichen Kompetenz gegenüber dem Deutschen Schreiber lässt sich die *Académie* also, bei aller Sympathie für den aus Freiberg abgeworbenen Bergbaufachmann, nicht nehmen.

5.3.6 *D'Aubuisson, Nouvelle théorie de la formation des filons*

Wie hartnäckig sich die Thematisierung der stilistisch-sprachlichen Qualität in Bezug auf deutsch-französische Übersetzungen hielt, zeigt auch eines der letzten Werke des Untersuchungszeitraums, nämlich D'Aubuissons Übersetzung des Klassikers Werner, genauer gesagt seiner *Neuen Theorie von der Entstehung der Gänge*. Als Schüler Werners ist D'Aubuisson in seinem Vorwort grundsätzlich voller Lob für den Meister, doch selbst in dieses Lob mischt sich noch der Topos der stilistischen Überlegenheit des Französischen. Denn nachdem D'Aubuisson auf die These seiner Vorgänger Hellot und Monnet verwiesen hat, die eine Übersetzung deutscher mineralogischer Werke für eigentlich unmöglich gehalten und sich

⁵⁶Vgl. Schreiber (1778), S. iij.

⁵⁷Macquer und Morand (1778), S. xxij.

daher vom Ausgangstext entfernt hätten, kommentiert D'Aubuisson einen Verzicht auf solche Entfernung folgendermaßen:

Hellot, Monnet [...], donnant en français, l'un le *Traité de la fonte des Mines de Schlutter*, l'autre *celui de l'exploitation des mines d'Oppel*, ont éprouvé toute la difficulté, et même, d'après leur aveu, l'impossibilité de traduire des ouvrages allemands, sur la minéralogie et sur les mines. Ils ont été obligés de perdre leurs originaux de vue, de renoncer à la méthode de ces auteurs allemands et de refondre leurs ouvrages. Une marche semblable m'eût été bien préférable, si je n'avois eu en vue que de donner une idée de la théorie de Werner : l'ouvrage eût été d'une lecture plus facile, plus agréable ; le style moins raboteux et moins chargé de répétitions dissonantes ;

Hellot, Monnet [...], die in Französisch, der eine die Abhandlung Schlüters über das Schmelzen der Erze, der andere diejenige Oppels über den Abbau der Erze gegeben haben, haben die ganze Schwierigkeit, und sogar, wie sie gestehen, Unmöglichkeit verspürt, deutsche Werke zur Mineralogie und zum Bergbau zu übersetzen. Sie waren gezwungen, ihre Originale aus dem Blick zu verlieren, auf die Methode dieser deutschen Autoren zu verzichten und deren Werke umzuarbeiten. Eine solche Vorgehensweise wäre mir sehr viel lieber gewesen, wenn ich lediglich vorgehabt hätte, eine Vorstellung von Werners Theorie zu vermitteln: das Werk wäre leichter, angenehmer zu lesen gewesen; der Stil weniger holprig und weniger durch unschöne Wiederholungen beschwert.⁵⁸

Auch Werner entgeht mithin nicht dem Urteil des „schlechten Stils“, das durch den Rückgriff auf Hellot und Monnet auch durchaus national konnotiert ist und nicht ohne einen gewissen abwertenden Unterton auskommt.

5.3.7 *Leschevin, Exposition des acides, alkalis, terres et métaux*

Für Stilfragen gänzlich unempfindlich scheint hingegen die ebenfalls 1802 erschienene Übersetzung von Trommsdorffs *Darstellung der Säuren, Alkalien, Erden und Metalle* durch den Mineralogen und Chemiker Leschevin. Hier herrscht ein durchweg sachlicher Duktus, wie man ihn von ‚modernen‘ Naturwissenschaftlern im Grunde erwartet. Dieser erweist sich jedoch als erstaunlich kompatibel mit einer national konnotierten Sichtweise, in der sich wie selbstverständlich „deutsche Chemiker und Mineralogen“ „französischen Chemikern und Mineralogen“ gegenüberstehen. Wobei zum Teil sogar auf die fachliche Spezifizierung verzichtet wird und schlicht von „Les Allemands“ die Rede ist, denen man nicht absprechen könne, sich seit langem um gute didaktische Werke zu bemühen:

Les Allemands, auxquels on ne peut refuser le mérite d'avoir perfectionné, depuis longtemps, toutes les parties de détail de l'enseignement, possèdent d'excellens tableaux méthodiques, sur-tout dans les sciences physiques. Je connois, dans cette langue, plusieurs

⁵⁸ [D'Aubuisson de Voisins] (1802a, 1802b), S. xv. Das Zitat entstammt der in Paris neu herausgegebenen Übersetzung D'Aubuissons, das Übersetzervorwort darin ist jedoch identisch mit demjenigen der in Freiberg 1802 bei Craz erschienenen ersten Ausgabe der Übersetzung.

ouvrages de ce genre, faits pour l'étude de la chimie et de l'histoire naturelle, desquels il seroit fort à désirer que nous eussions de bonnes traductions. Leurs savans, pour la formation de ces tableaux, ont mis à contribution les recueils et journaux nationaux et étrangers.

Die Deutschen, denen man das Verdienst nicht absprechen kann, seit langem alle Teile der Ausbildung perfektioniert zu haben, verfügen über ausgezeichnete Tafeln, vor allem in den physikalischen Wissenschaften. Ich kenne in dieser Sprache mehrere Werke dieser Art, die für das Studium der Chemie und Naturgeschichte gedacht sind, von denen sehr zu wünschen wäre, dass wir gute Übersetzungen davon hätten. Ihre Gelehrten haben, zur Erstellung dieser Tafeln, nationale und ausländische Sammlungen und Zeitschriften herangezogen.⁵⁹

Neben dem in Übersetzervorworten nicht seltenen Hinweis auf weitere wünschenswerte Übersetzungen, findet sich hier ein relativ ‚neues‘ Argument, oder zumindest eines, das gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts an Bedeutung gewinnt, und nach dem die Überlegenheit Deutschlands nicht nur in einer langen naturwissenschaftlich-technischen Tradition begründet liegt, sondern auch in der Wahrnehmung internationaler Forschungen. Internationalität wird hier zum eigenständigen Qualitätsfaktor, und geradezu zu einer neuen Norm wissenschaftlichen Arbeitens. Bemerkungen zu stilistischen Eigenheiten nationaler Wissenschaftssprachen erscheinen vor diesem Hintergrund als mehr oder weniger schöngeistige, jedenfalls belanglose Kommentare. Dies heißt jedoch nicht, dass Sprache gar keine Rolle mehr spielen würde. Denn es liegt auf der Hand, dass internationaler Wissenstransfer irgendeiner sprachlichen Vermittlung bedarf und mithin, bei Wissensproduktion in unterschiedlichen Nationalsprachen, Übersetzungstätigkeit erfordert. Im selben Maße wie Internationalität zur ‚Norm‘ wird, wird folglich auch Übersetzung zur ‚Norm‘, und zur omnipräsenten Aufgabe. Dass dies eine gewisse Professionalisierung der Übersetzungstätigkeit erfordert, die gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts festzustellen ist (etwa mit festangestellten Übersetzern bei der Nachfolgeinstitution der *Académie des Sciences*, dem *Institut de France*), liegt auf der Hand, wäre aber ein eigenes Thema. Interessanter für den hier untersuchten Zusammenhang ist die Tatsache, dass sich neben dem Wissenschaftswettbewerb ein Internationalisierungswettbewerb und damit ein Übersetzungswettbewerb einstellt. Insofern verwundert es nicht, dass ein Fachkollege Leschevins, der Chemiker Guyton de Morveau, den Leschevin in seiner Übersetzung auch lobend erwähnt, einen solchen Übersetzungswettbewerb gleichsam ausruft. In einer wenig bekannten, 1787 veröffentlichten Schrift,⁶⁰ fordert Morveau noch größere staatliche Anstrengungen, um Deutschland in puncto Übersetzungsvolumen zu übertrumpfen. Sonst, so Morveau, würden früher oder später alle Wissenschaftler Deutsch lernen und Frankreich hätte das Nachsehen. Wie man sieht, hat sich der Wettbewerb hier auf die Übersetzungstätigkeit verlagert, die zum Standortvorteil der eigenen Wissenschaft wird, wenn sie es den eigenen Wissenschaftlern ermöglicht, ohne Zeitverlust internationale Forschungen wahrzunehmen, und andere wiederum dazu

⁵⁹ Leschevin (1802), S. 1–2.

⁶⁰ Morveau (1787).

nötigt, die eigene Sprache zu lernen. Die Internationalität, die Morveau vehement einfordert, indem er behauptet, kein *Académicien* dürfe mehr ignorieren, was andernorts geforscht würde, geht hier unmittelbar mit einem Übersetzungsimperativ einher: denn kein Wissenschaftler könne nun einmal, so Morveau, alle Sprachen lernen. Am Ende ist dieser *Übersetzungsimperativ* aber ein Kampf um die Vormachtstellung der eigenen nationalen wissenschaftlichen Community. In dieser Hinsicht mag der Internationalisierungsdiskurs am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts ‚neu‘ sein, und kein Gejammer über die Qual des Übersetzens deutscher Texte mehr zulassen. Er fügt sich aber recht nahtlos in die beobachteten nationalen Diskurse ein, denn am Ende dient auch die Übersetzung unter der Internationalisierungsnorm dem nationalen Standortvorteil.

5.4 Resümee

Mit den vorgestellten Übersetzungen konnte gewiss kein exhaustiver Überblick über die im Kontext der Ertüchtigung des Bergbaus und der Erzgewinnung in Frankreich relevanten Übersetzungen gegeben werden. Dennoch enthält er die wesentlichen Texte, die auch in den genannten Studien zum internationalen Wissens- und Technologietransfer im 18. Jahrhundert als Beispiele angeführt werden. Ein genauerer Blick auf die Paratexte dieser Übersetzungen konnte dabei zeigen, dass die durchaus aktive Übersetzungspolitik im Frankreich des 18. Jahrhunderts nicht lediglich einen Wissensimport bezweckt, der technisches Know-how aus Deutschland in Frankreich verfügbar macht. Vielmehr trägt diese Übersetzungspolitik gleichzeitig dafür Sorge, dass die vermeintliche technische Überlegenheit Deutschlands nicht zu einer Erschütterung des nationalen Selbstvertrauens führt, sondern im Gegenteil zum Anlass wird, das eigene symbolische Kapital zu mobilisieren und wenn möglich zu mehren. Damit ergibt sich zumindest für einen Ausschnitt der Wissenschaftsübersetzungen in Frankreich im 18. Jahrhundert eine interessante Kontinuität zu einem Diskurs über Übersetzungen, wie ihn die 1722 von Baillet veröffentlichte Schrift *Jugemens des principaux traducteurs* enthält, die bezüglich des vielleicht bekanntesten französischen Übersetzers der Frühen Neuzeit, Jacques Amyot, folgende Auffassung des Monsieur de Sainte-Marthe aus dem Jahre 1602 wiedergibt:

Monsieur de Sainte-Marthe dit que comme la beauté d'une langue n'est pas le moindre ornement de l'état où elle est en usage, on ne doit pas disconvenir qu' Amyot a rendu a ses rois et à sa patrie un service immortel, ayant taché de porter la langue au plus haut point de pureté dont elle semblaît être capable. Il ajoute qu' il n'a guere acquis moins de gloire par cette voie que s' il avoit conquis de nouvelles provinces par l'épée et étendu les limites du royaume.

Herr von Sainte-Marthe sagt, dass, da die Schönheit einer Sprache kein geringer Schmuck für das Land ist, in dem sie in Gebrauch ist, man nicht bezweifeln könne, dass Amyot seinen Königen und seinem Vaterland einen unsterblichen Dienst erwiesen hat, indem er versuchte, die Sprache bis zum höchsten Punkt der Reinheit zu bringen, zu dem sie fähig

ist. Er fügt hinzu, dass er auf diesem Wege kaum weniger Ruhm erlangt hat, als wenn er neue Provinzen mit dem Schwert erobert und so die Grenzen des Königreichs ausgedehnt hätte.⁶¹

Übersetzen oder Länder erobern – Hauptsache, so ließe sich zusammenfassen, es dient dem Wohle der Nation.

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⁶¹ Baillet (1722), S. 113.

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Kapitel 6

Of Heroines and Housewives: How Johannes Spreng's German Translation of the *Metamorphoses* (1564) Conveys Gender-Specific Norms



Regina Toepfer

Translations are part of gender history. Translation scholars have called attention to the consistency with which translations are associated with changes and mirror established value systems and prevailing ideologies.¹ A translator acts in a specific social situation and tailors the transferred text to its intended purpose, as well as to the cultural realities and social conditions of the intended readership. Historical translations of literature thus not only offer insights into the contributions men and women have made to accessing, imparting, and building knowledge, but also show how gender concepts have been reconfigured and adapted to the ideals of the target culture. Power-political structures are woven into translations, sometimes questioning male dominance, but more often adopting and underpinning it. Gender and sexual identities are not stable, as the translation scholar José Santaemilia points out in the introduction to the collective volume *Gender, Sex and Translation* (2015): “Certainly, the translation of gender or sex is not an innocent affair, and it involves not only a cross-cultural transfer but a cross-ideological one. [...] A translation always adds something: ideology, political (in)correction, urgency or restraint, etc.”² This makes the combination of gender/sex studies and translation

¹ See Toepfer (2021), Hatim and Manson (1997), p. 144, Bassnett and Levevre (1992), p. VII, Prunč (2012), pp. 191, 244–245, 255, 289.

² Santaemilia (2005), p. 6. See also Bassi (2020), Lee (2020), Santaemilia (2014), Santaemilia (2018).

Translated by Judith Rosenthal. An abbreviated German version of this text is published in: Schindler (2021).

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studies a fascinating exercise to examine how identity and desire are handled, legitimized, censured, sanctioned, or tabooed in translation discourses.

When translators fail to reflect on their own historical and cultural position, they misconstrue and even negate gender-specific power relations. In historical translations, we frequently encounter announcements to the effect that the source text has been reproduced in the target language without changes and as precisely as possible. As a rule, these statements of intent have been made by male translators who lived in patriarchal societies and took their privileged status for granted as something natural or God-given. They thus suggested the existence of a universal, objective, and gender-free translation ideal.³ On the abstract, theoretical level, of course, one might want to distinguish between a translational ideal of loyalty to the source text and the interpretational conventions of a patriarchal society.⁴ In actual translation practice, however, it is not possible to omit previous discourse formations. The perspective on a source text and its reformulation—its ‘rewriting’⁵—is always shaped by the translator’s individual conception, social experiences, and cultural contexts. The male claim to translational loyalty merely veils hegemonial structures. The androcentric outlook is not identified as such, but rather implicitly assumed. The literary theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak accordingly considers the relationship between translation, gender, and power decisive. In her essay *The Politics of Translation*, she calls for the deconstruction of patriarchal dominance: “The task of the feminist translator is to consider language as a clue to the workings of gendered agency.”⁶

The Early Modern reception of classical antiquity lends itself especially well to examining shifts in gender-specific power relations and the establishment of contemporary ideals of femininity and masculinity. The classical works are naturally by no means devoid of patriarchal viewpoints. Yet precisely Ovid, of all authors, demonstrates literary license in his *Metamorphoses* when he offers diverging gender images, permits sexual diversity, recounts tales of gender transformation, and describes female desire. Nor did the sixteenth-century German translators of classical works remain invisible, but rather actively participated in the gender discourse.⁷ As a way of stressing the structural inequalities prevailing in the literary world of the Early Modern period, I should add the attribute ‘male’ when I speak

³On this issue, see Simon (1996), p. 29.

⁴Thus the argument of Dirk Werle in his constructive commentary on my lecture. I thank him and Andreas Gipper kindly for their helpful remarks.

⁵On ‘Rewriting’, see Bassnett and Lefevre (1992), p. VII.—Simon argues that the “entry of gender into translation theory has a lot to do with the renewed prestige of translation as ‘re-writing’”, see Simon (1996), p. ix.

⁶See Spivak (2009), p. 201. See also Bachmann-Medick (2018), p. 267, Bassnett (2014), p. 65, Flotow (2020).

⁷On the visibility of translators and the associated power issue, see Venuti (2008), Bassnett (2014), pp. 104–124.

of translators. Because among the rediscoverers of the sources of classical antiquity in German-speaking parts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there is not a single woman to be found. Male actors stand out prominently in forewords, letters of dedication, marginalia, sub-headings, and commentaries,⁸ and ensure reception in compliance with the norms, within which context they distinguish not only between scholarly and vernacular, but also between male and female, recipients. In the following I would like to discuss the myths of Europa and Alcyone in Johannes Spreng's translation of Ovid as examples of how the actions of classical heroines were adapted to correspond to contemporary gender ideals.

6.1 Spreng's Translation Programme: The *Metamorphoses* as Exemplum Literature

Johannes Spreng's German version of the *Metamorphoses* appeared in print in 1564, published by Sigmund Feyerabend, Weigand Han (Erben), and Georg Rab in Frankfurt.⁹ As Spreng reveals in the foreword, it was Feyerabend who had initiated the translation. An adaptation of the *Metamorphoses* in Dutch with outstanding illustrations had been circulating on the European book market and come to the enterprising publisher's attention. Feyerabend had the artist Vergil Solis copy the woodcuts designed by Bernard Salomon¹⁰ and subsequently commissioned the Meistersinger Spreng of Augsburg to produce the respective texts. The German translator explicitly points out that he had no say in the selection of the myths and was compelled to work from the prespecified images for reasons of cost.¹¹ Spreng commenced his work by immersing himself in Ovid's scholarly language and writing a Latin partial edition of the *Metamorphoses* which Feyerabend published in 1563.¹² His (self-)translation of this New Latin version into the vernacular, for which he also drew on the classical epic, would follow a year later.¹³ The nuanced

⁸ See Toepfer et al. (2017), esp. p. 19.

⁹ See Spreng (1564). The edition was reprinted in 1571. On Spreng, see Merzbacher (1991), Merzbacher (2017). On Spreng's translation of the *Metamorphoses*, see Toepfer (2017), Toepfer (2018). On Han and Rab, see Reske (2015), pp. 245–248.

¹⁰ On the illustrations, which were widely imitated and copied all over Europe, see also Guthmüller (1973), pp. 171, 177, Ißler (2015), pp. 273–276, Kinney and Styron (2020), Stahlberg (1984).—On the illustrated editions of Ovid in general, see Huber-Rebenich (2001); Huber-Rebenich et al. (2004 ff.); Huber-Rebenich (2012).

¹¹ See Spreng (1564), fol. aiiij^v–av^r.

¹² See Spreng (1563).

¹³ On the concept of self-translation, see Grutman (2020). On the relationship between Spreng's Latin and German versions, see Toepfer (2017), pp. 398–399.

SPP 2130 definition of translation permits me to classify this Ovid adaptation as a literary translation.¹⁴

The New Latin and Early Modern High German editions exhibit the same structure. A heading announces the content of each myth—which in some cases is broken down into several chapters—and its events are then illustrated in a woodcut. That image is followed by a brief prose summary and, on the next quarto page, a more detailed account in Latin distiches and German rhymed couplets. Finally, the story is interpreted and its moral lesson set forth, likewise in verse.¹⁵ These various text and image elements are intended to enhance one another, in which context the vernacular version is altogether twice as long as the Latin: the individual chapters comprise four instead of two printed pages.

Unlike the category ‘religion’, the category ‘gender’ does not appear to have played a role for Spreng. As he explains in his foreword, the German version is intended for readers not literate in Latin, ‘so that even the simple layman can recognize himself in it and delight in the wonderful poetry to his own edification’.¹⁶ Spreng’s approach differs from that of the first German translation of the *Metamorphoses* by the novelist Jörg Wickram of Colmar in that he makes no distinction between a male and a female readership. Whereas Wickram had taken the moral sensitivities of women specifically into account,¹⁷ Spreng’s term “der gemeine Lay” (‘the common layperson’) creates the impression of a gender-free translation. Yet already the foreword offers a presentiment of how little that is the case. Johannes Spreng promotes his work by stressing the moral benefit of reading it. Ovid, he argues, had written the fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses* with no other purpose in mind than to ‘implant honour, modesty and virtue in many’ (“ehr / scham / vnd tugend bey meniglich gepflantzet”) and, conversely, to stamp out ‘dishonour, vice and all manner of malevolence’ (“schand / laster / vnd allerley

¹⁴On the concept of adaptation, see Bastin (2020), p. 10: “Adaptation may be understood as a set of translative interventions which result in a text that is not generally accepted as a translation but is nevertheless recognized as representing a source text.” On the SPP 2130 definition of translation, see Toepfer et al. (2021), p. 40: “A translation is the conveyance of a linguistic communication / of meaningful signs from a (source) culture A to a (target) culture Z with the goal of reaching new recipients and communicating across linguistic, spatial, temporal, cultural, and/or medial boundaries.”

¹⁵On the function of the verses in Spreng’s translation of the *Metamorphoses*, see Toepfer (2018).

¹⁶See Spreng (1563), fol. aij^{r-v}: “auff daß sich darinnen auch der gemeine Lay zu ersehen / vnd ab dem wunderbaren geticht mit nutz zu erlustigen hette.”—The small number of words abbreviated in the print have here been written out in full.

¹⁷See Wickram (1545), fol. aij^r: “So weit mir aber möglich / hab ich mich geflissen [...] hierinn alle vnzucht vermitten / damit diß büch von jungen vnd alten Frawen vnd Junckfrawen / sunder allen anstos gelesen werden.” See also Toepfer (2017), p. 388. On Wickram’s adaptation of the *Metamorphoses*, which was reprinted by Ivo Schöffer in Mainz in 1551 and by Sigmund Feyerabend in Frankfurt in 1581 (with the woodcuts by Vergil Solis), see also Heinzmann (1969), Kern (2012), Rücker (1997).

mutwillen").¹⁸ The code of conduct in the Early Modern era was, however, binary in structure. Women were expected to adhere to a morality different from men if they wanted to preserve their female honour.

But—we might critically interject—to what extent did Johannes Spreng even intentionally pursue a gender-specific policy? Was his translation not perhaps simply subject to rules and regulations of contemporary discourse he was powerless to escape? In our analysis, however, I consider it a vain endeavour to try to differentiate between the intentionally acting translator subject and his social imprint, because translational action is entirely inconceivable without sociocultural context and discursive parameters. There is in any case something remarkable about the premodern casting of Ovid—an author with a penchant for stories about love, sex, violence, adultery, incest, and intercourse between gods and humans—as a teacher of virtue.¹⁹ The beneficial lesson is not always discernible at first sight, Spreng admits, because it lies concealed like a sweet core within a hard shell.²⁰ The necessity of revealing these moral principles naturally strengthens the male interpreter's position. He must take a stance if he is to enlighten the recipient of the exemplary nature of the tales. Spreng accordingly stresses that the *Metamorphoses* contribute to the recognition of God's almightiness and announces his intention to draw a link between Ovid's myths on the one hand and the Bible and religious tradition on the other.²¹

6.2 Conveying Norms Through Cautionary Example: Europa as a Seducible Maiden

Already the heading and the woodcut in Spreng's *Metamorphoses* suffice to call to mind the tale of the maiden who gave the European continent its name: the daughter of the King of Phoenicia is abducted by Jupiter, the father of the gods, in the form of a bull.²² The illustration depicts the moment in which the bull escapes across the surging sea with the young woman on its back (see Fig. 6.1). As described by Ovid at the end of the second book of the *Metamorphoses*, Europa grips the bull's horn with her right hand and steadies herself on its back with her

¹⁸ See Spreng (1563), fol. aij^v–aiij^r.

¹⁹ On the long tradition of moral interpretation, see Guthmüller (1975), Ißler (2015), Toepfer (2017), pp. 386–387.—On the German reception of Ovid from the twelfth to the twentieth century, see also Schmitzer (2015).

²⁰ See Spreng (1564), fol. aij^v: “weil manche gute lehr zu einem frommen auffrichtigen leben dienlich / darinnen verdeckter weiß begriffen / vnd heimlich / als ein süßer kern vnter einer bittern schelffen verborgen ligt [...]”

²¹ See Spreng (1564), fol. aiij^r–[avj^v].

²² On the various literary adaptations of the Europa myth in antiquity, see Heldmann (2016), and on their reception in France, Italy, and Spain since the Middle Ages, see Ißler (2015).

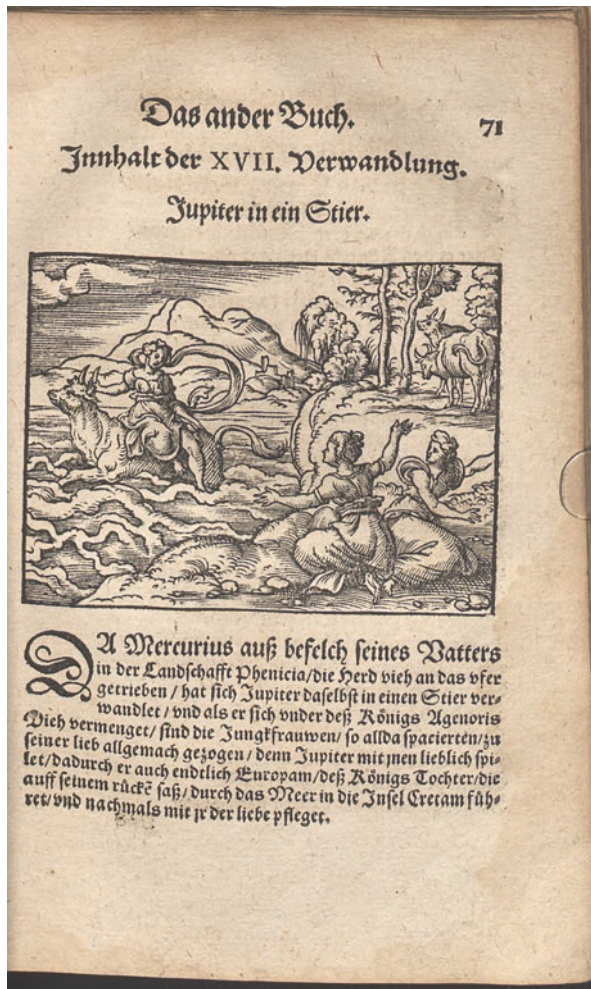


Fig. 6.1 Jupiter Abducting Europa, woodcut by Vergil Solis, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/A.lat.a. 1240, fol. 71^r

left, her robes fluttering in the wind.²³ Her companions remain behind in safety on the shore, gazing after her in bewilderment. One spreads her arms as she calls for help; the other turns her back as if to flee but cannot wrest her eyes from the terrible sight. In the background are two cows from the herd of cattle with which the abductor has mingled to approach his prey unnoticed.

²³ See Fink (2007), Met II, vv. 873–875: “[...] pavet haec litusque ablata relictum / respicit et dextra cornum tenet, altera dorso / inposita est; tremulae sinuantur flamine vestes.”

Without divulging the female protagonist's name, the heading focusses on the father of the gods: "Jupiter into a bull".²⁴ This corresponds to the perspective of the classical pre-text in that it sheds light on the god's motivation and course of action; Europa, for her part, is nothing but the object of his lust and not even mentioned by name.²⁵ Because he desires a mortal woman, he cannot wield his full power but must conceal his divine aura: the father of the gods puts his sceptre aside and transforms himself into a bull. Yet even in the herd of cattle which Mercury has driven to the coast on his behalf, Jupiter stands out. The bull's hide is as white as snow, its neck ripples with muscles, and its horns are as elegantly curved as if they had been turned by an artist. After all, the peacefully grazing animal must depend solely on its outward magnificence to catch the princess's fancy.

In the abbreviated German version of the *Metamorphoses*, Johannes Spreng conspicuously shifts the emphasis in the relationship between god and human. Whereas the brief prose summary still corresponds to the classical pre-text, Spreng then goes on to place Europa at the centre of attention, thus changing the initial constellation of the overly powerful perpetrator and his female victim. Whereas Ovid only briefly mentions that the princess was in the habit of playing on the beach, the German translator claims that young women 'amused themselves' ("jr kurtzweil trieben") there 'with great longing' ("mit grossem verlangen").²⁶ Rather than a male god out to quench his passion, it is desirous women who set the scene in Spreng's version. The Phoenician princess is a member of the female collective seeking diversion on the beach. Whereas in many other cases the translator radically prunes the Ovidian myths, here he spends nearly ten verses embroidering on the young lady's pleasures. The princess organizes various games; she and her friends are in the best of moods and enjoying themselves to the fullest.

In keeping with this portrayal of Europa, her encounter with the bull takes a much different course in the German adaptation than in the classical source text. In Ovid's tale, her conduct is marked by caution and restraint. She admires the bull's beauty but shies away from touching it, despite its placidity. She only gradually ventures closer and holds flowers up to its white muzzle. Playing with the double perspective offered by the two figures, the Ovidian account moreover contrasts Europa's guarded movements with Jupiter's growing arousal. As she feeds the beautiful animal, he kisses her hands, thinking about the imminent fulfilment of his passion, and can hardly contain himself. Outwardly, however, the bull

²⁴ See Spreng (1564), fol. 71^r.—Whereas here the wording corresponds to that in the Dutch edition *Excellente figueren* ("Juppiter in eenen stier"), other European reprints of Bernard Salomon's illustrations, for example the French version of 1557, call attention to Europa ("Europa rauie") or—as in the Italian edition of 1559—at least mention her by name ("Gioue mutato in Tauro rapisce Europa"), see Borluit (1557), fol. c4^v; Ißler (2015), p. 275.

²⁵ On the specific Ovidian interpretation, which reverses the import of the ancient myth and construes Europa's abduction not as an instance of bride kidnapping but as the fleeting love affair of the lecherous father of the gods, see the enlightening study by Heldmann (2016), pp. 159–181, esp. p. 161.

²⁶ See Spreng (1564), fol. 71^v.

keeps up its gentle, harmless behaviour, belying its true identity: it plays with the maiden, prances about on the meadow, lies down before her, lets her fondle its breast and weave flowers around its horns. When Europa finally dares to mount the wondrous animal's back, Jupiter has reached his goal. He stealthily ventures ever farther afield, cunningly extricating her from the circle of her companions, and thus making of her what he has intended from the outset: his quarry.²⁷

In the Spreng version, on the other hand, the father of the gods must undertake no such painstaking efforts to gain the maiden's trust. On the contrary, she proves easily seducible from the start. All the girls are enamoured with the pretty beast, whose description is much shorter than in the classical pre-text. Naturally, the princess is the most daring of all in the amusements that ensue: she boldly approaches the unfamiliar animal to feed it. In literature, and particularly poetry, flower-picking is a favoured allusion to defloration. Here again, the female protagonist of the German text exhibits especially conspicuous behaviour. Rather than daintily plucking the daisies, Spreng's Europa rambunctiously tears them out of the earth, complete with the grass around them, thus setting herself apart from many other female figures in literature including her own ancient predecessor. The bull relishes in the plants' consumption, a circumstance the translator interprets as a sign of mutual agreement. Rather than adhering to Jupiter's carefully calculated deception, Spreng endows the princess with an erotic interest of her own: With his kisses, the animal indicates to her 'that she can also be certain of his love'.²⁸ The German translator construes Europa's games with the bull as a continuation of the young women's frivolities and amusements—now, however, charged with sexual meaning. He relates, for example, that she pats the bull kindly on the breast, that she 'desires this ox' ("zu disem Ochsen lust"), weaves a wreath of flowers for it, hangs it on its horns, and spends a long time playing with it.

The numerous shifts of emphasis in the Early Modern High German translation enable Spreng to arrive at a conclusion completely different from Ovid's about the girl's abduction. In his telling, the princess is no innocent victim unaware of the nature of the beast to which she entrusts herself. On the contrary, she seems entirely agreeable to her kidnapping—in fact to want it—and virtually to incite her admirer to act by giving it a fervent embrace. According to the German translator: 'She finally pressed it tightly to her body and seated herself on its back.'²⁹ This 'rewriting' could of course be construed as an empowerment of the female protagonist in the sense that it permits her sensibilities of her own and transforms her from desired object into desiring subject. However, the German translator's sym-

²⁷ See Fink (2007), Met II, vv. 868–873: "[...] ausa est quoque regia virgo / nescia, quem premeret, tergo considerare tauri, / cum deus a terra siccoque a litore sensim / falsa pedum primis vestigia ponit in undis; inde abit ulterius medii que per aequora ponti / fert praedam."

²⁸ Spreng (1564), fol. 72r: "Daß sie jm auch sey lieb gewiß".

²⁹ Spreng (1564), fol. 72r: "Endtlichen auch für grosser lieb / Thet sie mit jrem leib jn drucken / Und setzet sich auff sein rucken / [...]"

pathies are clearly with the bull, whose forbearance he stresses once again precisely in the moment in which the transformed god achieves his aim.

The only behaviour portrayed as unseemly in the German version is that of the female protagonist, who treats the bull like a bridled horse. Quite in keeping with this shift in the two figures' relationship, the German Jupiter is not compelled to steal craftily away, but saunters leisurely into the water and continues his course across the sea only because there is nothing holding him back. This creates the impression that Europa would still have had plenty of opportunity to escape him and remain with her companions. It is not until the waters grow deep that her situation suddenly becomes dead serious. The young woman is now her abductor's prisoner; his true identity and power come to light. In the end, the vernacular version and the classical pre-text once again converge as regards the relationship between the sexes: Jupiter hurries away across the sea with his prey.

In the German translation, Europa is thus by no means wholly at the mercy of her mighty opponent. On the contrary, Johannes Spreng makes her responsible for her own sad fate; she has brought her misfortune upon herself with her frivolous concessions.³⁰ The sixteenth-century translation of Ovid is accordingly based on the same argument frequently still cited as late as the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in the context of rape trials. A favourite strategy used by defence lawyers to exonerate alleged offenders is to lay the blame on the victims. As the American psychologist William Ryan reveals in his study *Blaming the Victim* (1971), this method contributes effectively to perpetuating structural discrimination and legitimizing racist domination.³¹

Spreng explicitly frames this reversed perpetrator-victim relationship in the moral interpretation accompanying the myth. There he generalizes the case and presents Europa as a cautionary example whose fate young women should guard themselves against. It is the destiny that will befall all daughters 'who are wanton, bold, and presumptuous, offer themselves at the dance, and seek the company of many young men.'³² Although Europa's father, the Phoenician King Agenor, makes no appearance in the Ovidian myth, Spreng reduces her to the role of daughter. By linking gender with the category of age, he subjects her to male authority and marginalizes her as a disobedient, easily seducible young girl. The interpretation charges the dancing women with two violations of the social order. On the one hand, they evade the influence of the family, thus challenging paternal authority. On the other hand, they do not conform to established gender roles

³⁰Other myths, such as that of the rape of Callisto, are also reinterpreted accordingly. See Fink (2007), Met II, vv. 409–503; Spreng (1564), fol. 50^{r-v}, 52^{r-v}; Heldmann (2016), pp. 34–36.

³¹Ryan describes "blaming the victim" as a strategy targeting people of colour and serving to reproduce racism and social injustice in the US. See Ryan (1971).

³²Spreng (1564), fol. 72^v: "Welche sind mutig/frech / vnd geil / Bieten sich bey dem tantzen feil / Vnd suchen vil junger Gesellen." The German translation continues: "Die sie darnach mit schaden fellen / Wenn sie von jres Vatters hauß / Nemlich werden geführt auß / Vnd zu dem laster mehr gezogen / [...]"

because, in their search for a partner, they become active themselves, sometimes even yielding to several admirers. In Spreng's view, young women who leave their fathers' houses and prefer the company of young men put themselves at risk. When they give in to the temptation to commit vice and suffer damage as a result, they deserve no mercy. 'For they have betrayed themselves', the moral lesson concludes.³³

The message conveyed by the woodcut takes a similar vein (see Fig. 6.1): the female figure on the bull's back has gathered up her robe to keep it from getting wet, which in turn has the effect of prominently staging her naked left leg. Europa as depicted by the woodblock carver Vergil Solis is thus likewise not anxiously trying to protect herself. Much to the contrary, she adeptly displays her physical charms. Her companions' gestures indicate the urgency of avoiding such behaviour. This motif of warning is an iconographic element with no basis in the classical text. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the princess's companions are entirely peripheral figures. They are mentioned at the beginning and then disappear from the scene altogether. Their later reintegration by Solis supplies the end of the story with a new dimension of meaning. The other women's dismay renders Europa an exemplum within the pictorial narrative. The gist of their presence is that, rather than a superordinate male authority, it is young women readers' own social peers who warn them against too much promiscuity.

6.3 Conveying Norms Through Idealization: Alcyone as a Devoted Wife

Johannes Spreng presents Europa as an example of vice and disgrace to be avoided, thus clearly addressing a female readership, at least implicitly. He interprets many of the *Metamorphoses*' other heroines, however, as moral models the female readers should take as orientation. One such idealized female figure is Alcyone, whom Spreng introduces as the 'housewife' ("Hausfrauen") of the Thessalian King Ceyx.³⁴ Even if this term was more broadly defined in earlier stages of the German language than it is today, it did explicitly assign the woman to the domestic sphere.³⁵ Ovid, who relates the tale in the eleventh book of the *Metamorpho-*

³³ Spreng (1564), fol. 72^v: "Denn haben sie sich selbs betrogen."

³⁴ See Spreng (1564), fol. 279^r.

³⁵ Whereas in Middle High German texts the term is used primarily in the context of marriage (in the sense of wife, spouse), in Early Modern High German sources it also serves to emphasize the woman's function as lady of the house and overseer of the household. See the entries for the term in *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm* (http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB&lemid=GH04049). Accessed: 13 October 2020) and in the *Frühneuhocheutsches Wörterbuch* (<https://fwb-online.de/lemma/hausfrau.s.1f>). Accessed: 13 October 2020).

ses, focuses entirely on the couple's fervent love for one another.³⁶ Alcyone only reluctantly allows her husband to set out on a dangerous journey, fearing he might be shipwrecked and never come home again. In nearly a hundred verses, Ovid artfully relates how these fears come true: a ferocious storm blows up, the ship sinks, and Ceyx drowns. Alcyone learns of the disaster in a dream sent by the gods and is inconsolable: without her beloved husband she no longer wants to live. When she rushes towards his corpse as it washes towards the shore, the gods take pity. They turn the two partners into birds, allowing them to preserve their devotion to one another in changed form.

In the classical pre-text, the sad love story of Alcyone and Ceyx is eight times as long—and in Spreng's German translation four times as long—as the myth of Europa, so that I am compelled to limit my analysis to only a selected passage. The second of the four chapters, which Spreng devotes to the ancient couple, lends itself especially well to an examination of gender-specific shifts of emphasis. The heading announces: 'Alcyone Pleading to Juno'.³⁷ This scene is depicted in the foreground of the woodcut (see Fig. 6.2). The crowned queen kneels humbly before a statue of a goddess set up in an open temple and accompanied by a peacock. Alcyone beseechingly stretches out her arms towards Juno. Above them, separated from the terrestrial sphere by a wreath of clouds, is another scene: the enthroned goddess summons her messenger Iris. The ship afloat in the sky between heaven and earth represents the subject of Alcyone's prayer and Juno's response.

In Ovid, this episode is relatively brief. The narrator contrasts Ceyx's horrible death with the hopes borne of Alcyone's ignorance: she still has no presentiment of the terrible misfortune. She counts the nights, diligently works on making clothes for her husband, waits for his return, and offers up sacrifices to all the gods. She appeals especially to Juno for the safe and happy return of her husband, who is already long dead. Of her many wishes, only one can still come true, the narrator pointedly remarks: that her husband will not favour any other woman. Juno, for her part, can finally no longer endure being invoked for a dead man. She sends Iris to the god of sleep with the request that he appear to Alcyone in the form of the drowned Ceyx and inform her of his fate.

Once again, it is not the German prose summary but the translator's retelling of the tale in verse that exhibits numerous nuanced shifts of meaning. Spreng spreads out the content of the fifteen Latin hexameters over twenty-three rhymed couplets by reporting in detail about Alcyone's fears, troubles, and entreaties. The vernacular version differs from the classical pre-text in that, for example, the main protagonist has no fear of losing her husband before his departure. Initially, that is, Spreng makes no mention of dark presentiments, an omission he will compensate for in the chapter on the heroine's intercessory prayer. It is not until her husband

³⁶ See Fink (2007), Met XI, vv. 410–748.—On the narrative composition and literary configuration of the myth, see Stadler (1985), p. 206, who comments that Ovid 'tells the touching story of two human beings who are completely *equal* to one another in love and loyalty'.

³⁷ Spreng (1564), fol. [2]81^r: "Halycone bitt Junonem."



Fig. 6.2 Alcyone Pleading to Juno, woodcut by Vergil Solis. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/A.lat.a. 1240, fol. 281^r

fails to return as planned that Alcyone begins to worry. The longer his absence, the greater her fears. She senses that something dreadful must have happened. Whereas her Latin predecessor can hardly wait to spend the nights in her lover's arms again, the German Alcyone nearly loses her mind with apprehension. By day she is restless; by night she cannot sleep.

The German translation also intensifies the main female character's religious efforts. In both versions of the myth, she makes sacrifices to the gods, especially to Juno. Spreng, however, adds that Alcyone pays repeated visits to Juno's temple, uttering countless praises to the goddess and depositing many an offering on her altar.

The German protagonist voluntarily submits herself entirely to the deity. In Spreng's translation, she prays to the goddess with the utmost subservience, begging Juno to commend her king to the grace of the gods and allow him to return home safe and sound.³⁸ Expansions on the source text are also found in the description of Juno's reaction. Whereas in Ovid her actions are motivated by the desire to keep the unfortunate woman's hands off her altar, Spreng paints a picture of an empathetic, merciful deity. His Juno can no longer bear to watch the mortal woman descend ever further into anguish. Whereas in the ancient version the dream cruelly destroys Alcyone's every last hope, in the German translation it has a downright liberating effect: it finally puts an end to her excruciating uncertainty. By means of these many additions, the German translator manages to remould the figural concept established by the classical pre-text and adapt it to contemporary models. The passionate heroine becomes a devoted housewife prepared to do anything and everything to help her husband.

The interpretation goes into the Early Modern gender ideal in greater detail. Spreng pronounces Alcyone a shining example of femininity and sings the praises of such wives: 'Through the gracious Alcyone, we all have a fine illustration of a woman who loves her husband and cares for him from dawn till dusk.'³⁹ The fact that this interpretation corresponds to the storyline only in part evidently does not bother him: even in the German version, the protagonist does not care for her husband but worries about him and fears his loss. Whereas Ovid emphasizes her passionate desire, Spreng is concerned with women's unconditional focus on and subordination to men. The translator formulates his religious appreciation for Alcyone from a distinctly male perspective, even if he never says so explicitly. A devout woman should be referred to as a 'faithful treasure' ("treuwer Schatz"), he explains, because she is a gift given by God himself. The fact that she is God's gift to man goes without saying. In the following eight verses, Spreng describes the nature of such a woman's exemplariness. She enters into a symbiotic relationship with her husband, is emotionally dependent on him, shares his sensibilities and sufferings, and does everything in her power to stand by him and ease his hardships:

Wann dem Mann steht ein vbel zu/
 So hat ein frommes Weib kein ruw/
 Sie trauret tag vnd nacht sehr fast/
 Vnd tret mit jm gemeinen last/
 Sein not thut sie jm helffen klagen/
 Darzu das Creutz gedültig tragen/
 Sie ruffet auch an Gottes güt/
 Daß er jn durch sein gnad behüt../⁴⁰

³⁸ See Spreng (1564), fol. [2]81^v–282^r: "Vnd bat dise Göttn bereyt// Jn aller vnderthenigkeit / Daß sie ließ jren König fein / Jr gnedigklich befolhen seyn // Vnd denselbigen widerumben // Ließ heim gesund vnd auffrecht kommen."

³⁹ Spreng (1564), fol. 282^r: "Dvrch die Halcyonen gar milt // Wirt uns allen fein abgebildet // Ein Weib die jren Mann lieb hat // Vnd für jn sorget frü vnd spat."

⁴⁰ Spreng (1564), fol. 282^v.

If the man is befallen with evil, a devout woman has no peace; she mourns deeply day and night and bears the burden with him. She helps him lament his woes, patiently carrying the cross; she also prays to God in His goodness, that He protect him with His grace.

To underpin the gender hierarchy, Spreng makes skilful allusions to biblical passages. For example, he cites Paul's non-gender-specific appeal to bear one another's burdens (Gal. 6:2) as a one-sidedly feminine duty. And Jesus's bidding that anyone who wants to follow him should take up their cross (Lk. 9:23, Mk. 8:34, Mt. 10:38) is modified to conform to the prevailing gender ideology. Spreng demands that a woman should help her husband carry the cross. Woman as man's helper—a conception that goes back to the second creation story—here finds a Christian counterpart. Women's every suffering, aspiration, and prayer should serve the wellbeing of men.

6.4 Competing Interpretations: Irresponsible Princes and Disloyal Heathens

Spreng's gender-normalizing translations of the Europa and Alcyone myths were not the only interpretations available to German readers of the sixteenth century. A vernacular edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* had already come onto the market some twenty years earlier. Like Spreng's, it is not a direct translation of the classical pre-text, but an adaptation by Jörg Wickram of an older, Middle High German translation by Albrecht von Halberstadt (ca. 1200) for the publisher Ivo Schöffer of Mainz. This first German version of the *Metamorphoses* to appear in print moreover contains annotations by a certain Gerhard Lorichius, a teacher of Hadamar.⁴¹ His interpretation of the myth of Europa corresponds to Spreng's in its most delicate point: Lorichius likewise adopts the 'blaming-the-victim' approach. He pronounces Europa guilty, adding that she has only been abducted 'because of frivolous curiosity, lechery, and wicked desires'.⁴²

In his moral argumentation, Lorichius broadens the gender-specific perspective by regarding not just daughters, but children in general—and particularly those of high estate—as endangered. He directs his warning not to young nobles, however, but to those in charge of them: their fathers. May the story of the Phoenician princess serve all great and noble lords as a warning. If they want to prevent their own children from experiencing such perilous lust and already committing mental adultery at a young age, they must raise them with a firm hand. Lorichius's commentary thus exhibits an even stronger tendency towards stabilizing the social

⁴¹ On Lorichius's commentary, see Rucker (1997), Stackmann (1967).

⁴² Wickram (1545), fol. XXV: "von wegen eiteler vorwitz / geylheytt vnd böser begirden".

order than Spreng's interpretation. Fathers should control their adolescent children so strictly as to prevent them from developing any desires at all.⁴³ This patriarchal reading could hardly be further from Ovid's myth of Europa—or, for that matter, from Wickram's translation of it, in which a powerful god abducts a young woman by way of deception.

The professor of poetics and elocution Georg Sabinus of Königsberg, on the other hand, presents an interpretation far more compatible to the classical narrative. In his *Fabularum Ovidii interpretatio* printed by Georg Rhau's heirs in Wittenberg in 1554, his focus is not the female victim's behaviour but the male perpetrator's actions and their problematic nature. He associates the story of Jupiter and Europa with lecherous princes notorious for abducting young maidens, accusing them of violating their duties and not living up to their role in society. In Sabinus's view, sexual assaults are neither trivial offences nor are they very flattering for men in power. In view of their unscrupulous romances, they remind him of bulls.⁴⁴ Unlike Spreng and Lorichius, Sabinus uses his Latin interpretation to criticize the privileged, not the powerless.⁴⁵

Sabinus's reading of the tale of Alcyone and Ceyx likewise differs conspicuously from Lorichius's. The Königsberg professor considers the story an exemplary representation of conjugal love.⁴⁶ He not only points out how ardently Alcyone longs for her husband and how deeply she suffers from their separation, but also calls attention to the reciprocity of the couple's feelings. Unlike Spreng, he stresses that Ceyx also fervently loves his wife, a circumstance to which his dying words testify. The Hessian teacher Lorichius, for his part, concentrates on the male protagonist and all but ignores the heroine. Rather than praising Alcyone as a model of female loyalty like Jörg Wickram,⁴⁷ he portrays Ceyx as an example of heathen infidelity. Although Ovid's text gives not the slightest indication that the shipwreck could be a punishment, and the Ovidian narrator and gods alike feel sympathy for the lovers, Lorichius denigrates the drowned man: sinners are

⁴³ Wickram (1545), fol. XXV: "Jst eyn warnung der Edlen vnd grossen Herrn / daß sie jre kinder [...] hart anhalten / sonst werden sie durch den grossen wollust vnd bracht also geyl / daß sie auch [...] Ebruch meditirn / diewil sie noch kinder sein."—Lorichius cites a similar argument in his commentary on the myth of Thisbe and Pyramus, see Toepfer (2015), pp. 223–225.

⁴⁴ See Mundt (2019), pp. 70–73, here quoted p. 70, lines 276–278: "Accommodari potest ad principes libidinosos et puellarum raptu infames, qui amatoriis levitatibus dedit obliviscuntur personae, quam sustinent, fiuntque similes taurorum."

⁴⁵ On the spectrum of allegorical interpretations of the myth of Europa between the Middle Ages and the Modern period, in which Jupiter is sometimes even interpreted as a prefiguration of the Christian god and Europa as a symbol of mankind in need of redemption, see the study by IBler (2015), pp. 190–209, which is based on an abundance of material.

⁴⁶ See Mundt (2019), pp. 260–265, here quoted p. 262, lines 163–164: "Deinde observandum est exemplum amoris coniugalis."

⁴⁷ In a marginal note, Wickram comments on the words Alcyone uses in her effort to prevent her husband from embarking on his dangerous journey by sea as follows: "Vermanung vnd trost eynes getrewen vnd frummen weibs zu jrem man." Wickram (1545), fol. CXIII^v.

ill advised to take to the sea, because there they will have to atone for their wickedness.⁴⁸ The German annotator introduces the category of religion to the myth as a way of charging the pre-Christian hero with the responsibility for his own death. In the end, he softens his verdict somewhat by adding that, on Judgement Day, a milder sentence will await a heathen like Ceyx—who repents of his sins before death and has already received his punishment—than those godless Christians who show not the slightest remorse for their sins.

The Early Modern interpretations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* thus differ from one another, in part substantially, as we see in the tales of Europa, Alcione, and Ceyx. What the above-examined translations and annotations have in common, however, is that they use their rewritings of the classical pre-text to convey contemporary norms.⁴⁹ Warning and idealization are two key interpretation strategies for negotiating the transfer of culture and ideology and reassessing the contents. In the Early Modern translations of classical literature, gender and religion are presumably the most important categories in which normalizing shifts of emphasis can be observed. Yet age and social status also repeatedly play a role and are interlinked, leading in part to multiple discriminations.⁵⁰

Many scholars might regret the fact that the Early Modern High German translations of classical texts offer little critique of normativity and rarely call the patriarchal order into question—even in the case of such mastery in the portrayal of gender as Ovid's. When it stages ancient heroines and heroes as moral examples, Early Modern translation literature mirrors the value and power system of its own time. Yet the importance of literature for the history of gender far exceeds those bounds: translations not only reflect sexual differences but construct them. They contribute to stabilizing social hierarchies and reinforcing privilege and marginalization tendencies. The special appeal of an investigation from the point of view of linguistic and literary theory consists precisely in the possibility of reconstructing the emergence and legitimization of such inequalities. Translation studies profit from gender studies—and in the context of research on the Early Modern period the reverse is also true. Comparative translation analyses can help demonstrate how linguistic and literary techniques were used by translators to transform Ovid's heroines into Early Modern 'Hausfrauen', and thus how gender concepts are discursively generated and narratively disseminated.

⁴⁸ See Wickram (1545), fol. CXIX^v: "Also erseufft der vntrew Ceys imm Meer / so den sündigen geferlich ist."—Lorichius comments on Alcione only to the effect that he regards her as a victim of her husband's wickedness, Wickram (1545), fol. CXIX^v: "also muß der vnschuldig Alcynoe jres Tyrannens entgelten."

⁴⁹ Naturally, it was not only in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period that translations were appropriated for specific purposes. The strategy has been pursued up to the very present, as Lawrence Venuti reveals in the context of his call for a change of paradigm to a hermeneutic concept of translation. See Venuti (2019).

⁵⁰ On this problem, which has yet to be examined in depth in translation research, see Brown (2020), Toepfer (2021).—Hagedorn's study (2021) testifies to the productiveness of this method.

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Kapitel 7

The ‘Glamorgan School of Translation’: A No Politics Phenomenon?



Elena Parina

Confessional politics in England and Wales in the 16th century and their frequent changes made the religious allegiances of people a matter of highest importance for the rulers.¹ Translations were central in the development of ‘the culture of persuasion’ as vehicles of teaching, and particularly so in Wales. Some of the translations were instrumental in the official politics of Reformation, thus the translation of the Bible and the Book of the Common Prayer into Welsh was required by the Act of Parliament in 1563.² Therefore, a connection can easily be made between these translations and politics in its specific definition by Peter Burke given for the early modern period:

What is politics? For the early modern period it may be appropriate to define it as ‘affairs of state’, not local issues but concerns of rulers, in other words the succession, war, taxation, and economic and religious problems in so far as they forced themselves on the attention of governments.³

¹The research was conducted within the project ‘The Welsh Contribution to the Early Modern Cultures of Translation: Sixteenth-Century Strategies of Translating into Welsh’, located at the University of Marburg and led by Dr Elena Parina and Prof Erich Poppe, which is a part of the German Research Foundations (DFG) Priority Programme (SPP) 2130 ‘Early Modern Translation Cultures’. It was presented at the second annual conference of the SPP 2130 and I am deeply thankful to PD Dr Sonja Brentjes and other participants of the conference for their feedback. My gratitude also goes to the two reviewers of this volume who have helped me to improve this contribution. My special thanks go to Prof Erich Poppe for his constant support and Dr Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan for her valuable comments. Needless to say, the responsibility for any infelicities in this paper is mine alone.

²See Williams (1997), pp. 235–247.

³Burke (1978), p. 259.

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There were also attempts to create a Catholic program of translation into Welsh as an antidote to the ‘heretical’ Protestant writings, undertaken on a high political level by the exiles in Italy.⁴ But the process of confessionalisation involved much more than top-down transfer of beliefs, recent research on Reformation has shown the importance of personal and communal levels in it.⁵ A group of Welsh texts which are said to belong to the ‘Glamorgan school of translation’, undertaken mostly by anonymous translators and transmitted in manuscripts, offers the possibility to discuss several aspects of the intricate interrelation between politics, devotion and the policies of translation in a region on the periphery.

But before I come to the texts themselves three issues must be discussed in the introductory part: first, the political context of religious change in the 16th century and current trends in English historiography, then the Welsh developments.

In a very abbreviated way politics and religion at the highest level in England in the 16th century may be presented as following: Henry VIII (reigned 1509–1547) declared the independence from papal overlordship in 1533, which was a decision taken for legal and not theological reasons. On a personal level the king was not an ardent reformer himself, in 1521 he wrote a theological treatise ‘The Defence of the Seven Sacraments’ (in Latin: *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*) against Luther, for which he received the title *Fidei defensor* (‘Defender of the Faith’) from Pope Leo X. After the break with Rome an influential group of reformists (such as Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer) succeeded in implementing some changes, such as the authorization of the official English Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, in the period known as ‘Henrician Reformation’, 1533–1540. After Cromwell’s execution in 1540, Henry’s politics wavered between occasional campaigns against the reformists and “periods when he allowed Cranmer to embark on cautious, partial reform of the so far barely altered old liturgy”.⁶ His son Edward VI (reigned 1547–1553) was educated by humanistic reformers, and in the time of his reign multiple measures towards ensuring the reform were undertaken. He was succeeded by Mary I (1553–1558), an ardent Catholic in whose reign hundreds of reformers were executed. Under Elizabeth I (1558–1603) the Religious Settlement was achieved, at first the policy was lenient, later the persecution of the Catholics became ever more intense. From 1588 substantial fines were introduced for recusancy, that is not attending the services of the official Church of England, and Catholic priests were harshly persecuted.

This sketch of the religious politics of the monarchs who reigned over England and Wales in the 16th century can however only set an oversimplified frame for the complex process of religious transformation of the entire society that happened in this time. The understanding of the mechanisms of the development of confessional identities in Tudor England has undergone tectonic changes in

⁴On the proposed titles and the efforts by Morys Clynnog and Owen Lewis to ensure funding from the Vatican see Price (2019), p. 189.

⁵Morrissey (2015).

⁶Cameron (2015).

the last 50 years, with the four models of Reformation introduced by Christopher Haigh,⁷ Eamon Duffy’s⁸ reassessment of the state of the Catholic church in Britain prior to the Reformation and numerous other works.⁹ “By examining material culture and material texts, scholars have reached a more nuanced sense of the ways that changes in doctrine and liturgical practice were adapted and used to inform domestic arrangements and personal piety”.¹⁰ All these findings are useful in analysing contemporary Welsh developments.

Let us now turn to Wales. The defining narrative of the Welsh religious history in the 16th century is found in the works of Glanmor Williams. I will first give a summary of his presentation of ‘Wales and the Reformation’.¹¹ In the 16th century Wales was a rather poor country, mostly rural, with a dire poverty among the population¹² and correspondingly among the priesthood and no facilities to educate the ‘rank-and-file’ clergy.¹³ Therefore, there was a huge lack of those who could preach the faith—and that had to be done in Welsh. Since 1535 everyone to hold a public office in Wales had to be able to speak English,¹⁴ which means that the gentry was increasingly becoming at least bilingual, but the majority of population remained monoglot Welsh speaking. In this way the first efforts of the Reformation, with translating of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer into English, particularly active in the reign of Edward VI, remained inaccessible for the larger part of the Welsh. At least some groups of the population remained unrelentingly opposed to Protestant teaching, thus a poet from Glamorgan, Tomas ap Ieuan ap Rhys, rejected in his poems, circulated only in the time of Mary I, but likely composed earlier, the innovations he criticised as *ffydd Saeson*, ‘English faith’, “inflicted willy-nilly on the Welsh”.¹⁵ In the time of the ‘Marian reaction’ the foundations of Welsh Catholic opposition to Elizabeth were laid, but “[t]he battle for the soul of the Welsh people had still to be fought and would be waged for decades to come”.¹⁶ By the beginning of the Elizabethan reign “the majority of populace were confused, bewildered, ignorant, or apathetic; many of them were left so ‘punch-drunk’ by frequent change as to become unmoved by either Catholic or Protestant extreme”.¹⁷ It is noticeable that in the religious debates of the Reformation “most of the leading Welsh controversialists on both

⁷ Haigh (1982).

⁸ Duffy (1992).

⁹ For a survey see Morrissey (2015).

¹⁰ Morrissey (2015).

¹¹ Based on Williams (1997).

¹² A different analysis of the economic situation in the upland is presented in Powell (2007).

¹³ Williams (1997), p. 21.

¹⁴ See Jenkins (1997) for details.

¹⁵ Williams (1997), p. 179.

¹⁶ Williams (1997), p. 214.

¹⁷ Williams (1997), p. 235.

sides were to be found in the ranks of *émigrés* in England”.¹⁸ It was a “small but ardent cultivated minority” with strong connections behind the borders of Wales who lobbied at the highest quarters of political powers in London¹⁹ and ensured that in April 1563 the Act of Parliament was passed giving official sanction and mandate to the Book of Common Prayer and the whole Bible to be translated into Welsh. These printed translations were to make Wales “a committedly Protestant country” (and ensured the longevity of the Welsh language),²⁰ although by the end of Elizabeth’s reign conversion to the Protestant faith was not yet firm-rooted and “plenty of vestiges of the conservative past” remained.²¹

As might be seen already from this abstract, Williams’s book emotionally involves the reader with the Protestant cause from its onset till the end of Elizabethan reign when it was finally ensured. This is hardly surprising, since Sir Glanmor Williams (1920–2005), considered in his lifetime a greatest authority on the Welsh church history, was “a keen member and deacon of Capel Gomer Baptist chapel”.²² Another defining figure in the Welsh scholarship of the 20th century was Saunders Lewis (1893–1985)—being a Catholic convert and a nationalist he saw in the period before 1530 s “the great century” of Welsh literature, which was then cut short by the forced union with England in linguistic and religious terms.²³ The same confessional divide used to exist in the study of English Protestants and Catholics,²⁴ but more recent trends offer ‘post-confessional, post-revisionist’ approaches²⁵ to the religious history of England. And therefore, although following the steps of the giants of the Welsh scholarship is inevitable, it is important to remain aware of possible denominational and / or political conditioning in the modern-day historiography they have shaped.

7.1 The ‘Glamorgan School of Translation’ and its Sixteenth- Century Texts

With all these points in mind I will turn now to the so-called Glamorgan school of translation. Foibles of historiography, although probably not of a political or denominational kind, might be responsible for the creation of this construct. In 1948 Griffith John Williams, a prominent Welsh scholar, published the book

¹⁸Williams (1997), p. 20.

¹⁹Williams (1997), pp. 237–238.

²⁰Williams (1997), p. 405.

²¹Williams (1997), p. 400.

²²Morgan (2016).

²³More in Olson (2012).

²⁴As pictured by Alison Shell (1999), pp. 4–6.

²⁵Shagan (2005), p. 3.

Traddodiad Llenyddol Morganwg ('The Literary Tradition of Glamorgan'). Glamorgan is a county in south-east Wales, and G. J. Williams was especially interested in this area because his main academic focus was the life and works of one of the most fascinating and bizarre figures of the Welsh literature, Edward Williams, known under his pseudonym Iolo Morganwg (1747–1826), Morgannwg being the Welsh name for Glamorgan. Iolo was one of the creators of the modern Welsh culture, his fantasies about pre-Roman knowledge of bards and druids, kept in secret for hundreds of years in Glamorgan, are still the foundation of the most popular Welsh yearly event, the Eisteddfod with its *Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain* ('The throne of the Bards of the Island of Britain').²⁶ One of the main scholarly achievements of G. J. Williams was the proof that many of Iolo Morganwg's collections, in which he allegedly richly drew from ancient regional material, were full of forgeries. The book on the Glamorgan literary tradition was conceived originally as a preface to the biography of Iolo, in order to provide a background for Iolo's literary activities. However, in the course of time this supportive study developed into a book in its own right of more than 300 pages. And while G. J. Williams dismisses many statements by Iolo, who would ascribe most of the Welsh literary tradition specifically to Glamorgan, Iolo's idiosyncrasies were possibly still too strong for him to reject in some points.

The main bulk of the book is dedicated to poetry, which mirrors the relative values of poetry and prose in Welsh culture and literary scholarship. But in one chapter G. J. Williams draws a vast panorama of translations from the 14th century onwards which he locates in South Wales and tentatively in Glamorgan specifically.²⁷ This tradition, according to G. J. Williams, included such texts as Welsh versions of *La Queste del Saint Graal*²⁸ or *Relatio Fratris Odorici*²⁹ in the late Middle Ages and was continued into the Early Modern period. 16th century manuscripts of this school include two types of texts: first, much earlier, mostly religious texts known from manuscripts of the 14th century³⁰ and secondly translations created by this school in the 16th century. G. J. Williams's list of the six most important works of the second group gives the following texts:³¹

1. *Y Marchog Crwydrad—The Voyage of the Wandering Knight* (published London, 1581)
2. *Dives a Phawper—Dives et Pauper* (first published in English 1493)

²⁶The research on Iolo was published in Williams (1956), for later scholarship on this figure and his influence on the Welsh culture see Jenkins (2009), Constantine (2007), and Löffler (2007).

²⁷This analysis of translation is heavily influenced by the article of Stephen J. Williams 'Cyfieithwyr cynnar' ('Early translators'), Williams (1929).

²⁸Compare Zimmermann (2021).

²⁹Compare Falileyev (2018).

³⁰Williams (1948), pp. 175–176.

³¹Williams (1948), pp. 176–178.

3. *Darn o'r Ffestival—Liber Festialis* by John Mirk (first printed by Caxton in 1483)
4. *Y Gesta Romanorum* (published in English 1510)
5. *Y Drych Cristianogawl*
6. Translations of Gospel Readings

The penultimate item, *Y Drych Cristianogawl* ‘The Christian Mirror’, although found in a manuscript produced by one of the scribes who is central to G. J. Williams’s notion of the Glamorgan school, Llywelyn Siôn (1540–c.1615), is not strictly speaking a translation and is the work of a Catholic author of northern Welsh origin, Robert Gwyn.³²

G. J. Williams thinks that Iolo must have had access to the manuscripts containing these texts, but they had no interest for this antiquary, since in his construction these works were products of superstitious Papists who would be irreconcilable enemies of the scholars of the druidic tradition.³³ This narrative of a regional textual community with a strong support of the Catholic cause in the second half of the 16th century became rather influential, thus in the edition of one of the texts included into this group, *Y Marchog Crwydrad*, its editor D. Mark Smith enumerates exactly the same list of works.³⁴ He claims that all of them belong to a network of prolific Glamorgan scribes of the period, Ieuan ab Ieuan ap Madog, Llywelyn Siôn, and Antoni Powel, and are part of the efforts to help the local Catholics to preserve their faith despite Protestant persecution.³⁵ All of these texts are unmistakably religious, but are they indeed Catholic? Do they all belong to one textual community? A detailed discussion of these texts might help us to evaluate G. J. Williams’s statement, clarify the confessional affiliation(s), and possibly revise the list.

7.1.1 ‘Havod 22’

Two of the texts on G. J. Williams’s list, numbers 3 and 6 in the list above, are found uniquely in one manuscript, Havod 22 (Cardiff 2.632), written in the second half of the 16th century.³⁶ This is a remarkable collection, which brings together texts that at least retrospectively seem to be incompatible. I will first introduce the two texts from G.J. William’s list.

The first of these texts, *Darn o'r Ffestival*, is a collection of Welsh translations of fourteen and a half sermons from the *Festial* of John Mirk, “the sermon

³² Compare Parina und Poppe (2021).

³³ Williams (1948), p. 175.

³⁴ Smith (2002), pp. xxi–xxiii.

³⁵ Smith (2002) p. xxiv.

³⁶ Huws (2022), vol. 1, p. 555.

collection par excellence"³⁷ in England before the Reformation, written probably in the late 1380s³⁸ and transmitted in English both in manuscripts as well as in multiple prints (from 1483 by Caxton to the last edition by Wynkyn de Worde in 1532, just before the Reformation). After this point the text was never reprinted until 1905,³⁹ but continued to be read, as notes in extant manuscripts and prints show, although it was very much disfavoured by the reformers, who tried to dispose of it both physically and verbally.⁴⁰ The Welsh translation found in the manuscript on pages 80–195 was edited and discussed by Henry Lewis.⁴¹

Another text in this manuscript mentioned by G. J. Williams as the product of the Glamorgan school are Gospel readings (pp. 391–413), edited by Henry Lewis,⁴² which have been shown to be based on the Vulgate, but also bear the influence of Tyndale's New Testament as printed in the Matthew's Bible.⁴³ Matthew's Bible appeared 1537, which gives the terminus post quem for the translation. The other possible temporal boundary is the publication of William Salesbury's New Testament in 1567, which the translation of Gospel Readings must predate⁴⁴—one might suppose that after this publication there would be no further need for independent Gospel translations, although its Latinised style made the text not easily understandable.

Both of the texts are written, according to the editor Henry Lewis, in a style completely different from that of William Salesbury, one of their features being abundance of English loanwords—but it is a difference in style and possibly in register, not another historical period of the development of the Welsh language. There is no direct evidence for the dating of the translations, and for the *Festial* Henry Lewis suggested that the manuscript could contain the 'ur-translation', since he could not see any traces of copying.⁴⁵ So although at least *Festial* could theoretically have been translated earlier, as the English source was available in print since 1483 and in manuscripts before, there are no convincing arguments for the dating.

To evaluate the texts, it is important to look at the manuscript they are contained in. Havod 22 is 700 pages long and includes at least two different groups of texts. On the one hand, it has a number of older devotional texts, such as the Welsh translation of *Elucidarium*, an extremely popular dialogue text on many aspects of Christian teaching faith composed in the 12th century and known in Welsh from 14th century manuscripts, an epitome of pre-Reformation religious

³⁷ Powell (2009), p. lv.

³⁸ Powell (2009), p. xix.

³⁹ Powell (2009), p. lvii.

⁴⁰ Powell (2009), p. lix. On attacks on *Festial* see Spencer (1993), pp. 324–326.

⁴¹ Lewis (1923–1924).

⁴² Lewis (1921).

⁴³ Thomas (1976), p. 54, following Henry Lewis (1921).

⁴⁴ Lewis (1921), p. 194.

⁴⁵ Lewis (1923–1924), p. 4.

teaching,⁴⁶ and some other similar texts.⁴⁷ On the other hand, it includes two translations from the works of Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), the archbishop of Canterbury and one of the architects of the Reform both under Henry VIII and Edward VI. These are “Cranmer’s liturgy” of 1544 (pp. 1–4) and “y kyminiwn ynghymraec”, from Cranmer’s *Order of Communion* of 1548 (pp. 413–21).⁴⁸ The latter text is a response to the introduction of an English order for receiving communion, which would be unintelligible for the Welsh monoglots, and is, in the words of G. J. Williams,⁴⁹ “an early indication of some earnest but unknown Protestant’s wish to make it more widely understood”.

It seems that the main reason for the inclusion of the translations from *Festial* and of the Gospel Readings into the list of works of the Glamorgan school is the identification of one of the two scribes of the manuscript as Antoni Powel (c.1560–1618/9), an antiquary from south Wales (Llwydarth, Llangynwyd). This idea came from Iolo Morganwg and was accepted by G. J. Williams. However, the identification of this scribe with Antoni Powel has recently been rejected by the leading authority on Welsh manuscripts, Daniel Huws.⁵⁰ He suggests that “[h]is writing [i.e., of the scribe of Havod 22—E.P.], that of a bard rather than of a gentleman-scholar, looks a generation earlier”,⁵¹ and proposes to label this hand as X50 and to date it, basing on the two other manuscripts containing the work by the same hand, to the third quarter of the 16th century.⁵² It is therefore possible to suggest that the manuscript was created shortly after Cranmer’s *Order of Communion* was published in 1548, and to put it into the context of the Edwardian Reformation.

Daniel Huws calls Havod 22 “a substantial collection of medieval religious texts”, adding that it also contains two translations from works by Cranmer.⁵³ The editor of the two Welsh translations of Cranmer’s texts in this manuscript, R. Geraint Gruffydd, suggested that those were translated by the same person who had translated the Gospel Readings and the sermons from the *Festial*.⁵⁴ In his opinion, all of these translations were part of a pioneering effort to produce

⁴⁶The version in Havod 22 is slightly abridged in comparison to the earlier versions, see Rowles (2008), p. 131, on the Welsh *Elucidarium* generally see Rowles (2008), a brief introduction to the text is given in Parina (2018).

⁴⁷Among the other texts are *Pa ddelw y dyly dyn credv y Duw* (‘How a man should believe in God’), discussed in Williams (1997), *Cysegriant Fuchedd* (‘Holy living’), also known as *Ymborth yr Enaid* (‘Sustenance of the Soul’), see Daniel (1995), (1997), and *Ystoria Addaf* (‘The Story of Adam’), see Rowles (2006).

⁴⁸Huws (2022), vol. 1, p. 555, on these texts see Gruffydd (1966).

⁴⁹Williams (1997), p. 162.

⁵⁰Huws (2022), vol. 1, p. 555.

⁵¹Huws (2022), vol. 2, p. 212.

⁵²NLW 13165, ‘apparently before 1565’, and NLW Peniarth 83.

⁵³Huws (2022), vol. 1, p. 555.

⁵⁴Gruffydd (1966), p. 59.

Welsh language material for the church services, an effort that must have been made in the late 1540-s—early 1550-s. Gruffydd⁵⁵ refers to some Dimetian, i.e. southwestern, dialect features found in the language of the *Festial* translation by Lewis⁵⁶ and suggests despite the assumption that the manuscript itself comes from Glamorgan (being penned by Antoni Powel, a suggestion which is now rejected, see above), that the translation of this complex of the texts must have been undertaken in south-west Wales. One of the centres of the early Reform in Wales was St David's and Gruffydd proposed that it could have been done by a cleric from this diocese.⁵⁷ The combination of texts that might look to us as incompatible, the *Festial*, that was assessed by English Reformers as an example of the false Catholic preaching, full of insipid narrations and fables, and the brand-new liturgic texts by Thomas Cranmer, one of the founders of the English Protestant Church could serve as a good illustration of the uncertainties of this early stage of the Reformation. Thus it offers a unique opportunity to get an insight of the period where the construction of confessional identities on a periphery were just beginning. However, although it contains many earlier translated texts, some of which might have been produced at some point in Glamorgan, the 16th century translations in it and the manuscript in its entirety should probably be excluded from the discussion of the 'Glamorgan school', since the main argument for it, the identification of one of the scribes, is now rejected.

We now turn to the other texts of the list, for which the attribution to Glamorgan seems to be more certain.

7.1.2 *Gesta Romanorum*

The first of these texts is *Gesta Romanorum*, found in Welsh in one manuscript, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 13076 B (Llanover B 18), dated s. xvi/xvii. The manuscript is written by one of the most prominent scribes of his time and a central figure in the whole concept of the Glamorgan school, Llywelyn Siôn (1540–c.1615), whom we will discuss later. *Gesta Romanorum* is a collection of narratives of ultimately Latin origin, that was translated into Welsh from English. The exact source and dating of the translation poses a knotty problem which includes confessional issues. Although the Latin versions are much more numerous, it has been convincingly demonstrated by Patricia Williams that the Welsh translation must be based on an English printed source. According to P. Williams, the first English printed version was published by

⁵⁵ Gruffydd (1966), p. 60.

⁵⁶ Lewis (1923).

⁵⁷ Gruffydd even suggests the name for the translator—Thomas Tally, who is also known for a Welsh metrical version of the *Ten Commandments*. Gruffydd (1966), p. 60; Williams (1997), p. 147.

Wynkyn de Worde between 1510 and 1515 and reprinted six or eight times, only four of those editions remaining, the last dated 1557.⁵⁸ In 1577 a revised edition was produced by Richard Robynson, published seven times between 1577 and 1602.⁵⁹ The Welsh translation is definitely based on the translation published by Wynkyn de Worde, whether from its first editions or the one printed 1557, in the time of the return to Catholicism under Mary I, remains unclear, since, as far as I could see, these editions vary only orthographically. There is possibly also an edition of the same text by Wynkyn de Worde prior to 1510, not mentioned by P. Williams—a copy held in Queen’s University Library, Belfast, Shelfmark Percy 394, is tentatively dated by 1502.⁶⁰ More importantly, there is no way to assess the exact date of the revised Protestant version of *Gesta Romanorum* by Richard Robynson. Of the new editions attested in authoritative catalogues (as STC) the first is dated only by 1595 (STC 21288). There is no *Gesta Romanorum* edition of 1577, but only a text “Certain selected histories for christian recreations vvith their seuerall moralizations. Brought into Englishe verse, and are to be song with seuerall notes: composed by Richard Robynson citizen of London” (STC 21118), which is a completely different verse text, not prose, as in the case of the *Gesta*, and resembles *Gesta Romanorum* only in its combination of a ‘recreational’ story with a moralisation and the person responsible for the edition. Richard Robynson (c. 1544–1603) published several translations “from Latin and French, [...] predominantly moral and religious, and often strongly Protestant”, the second strand in his translations being chivalric,⁶¹ one of the two examples thereof being, according to the short biographical sketch, *Gesta Romanorum*.⁶² Whenever this new version was created, its description as a translation by Richard Robynson is unjustified, since its relation to the Wynkyn de Worde’s English version is more adequately characterised in the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* database: “The work was revised by the translator Richard Robynson, who says he ‘reformed and repolished it’ and ‘corrected the Moralitie in many places’. He also added an

⁵⁸The editions Williams refers to are, most likely, STC 21286.3 c. 1510, STC 21286.5 c. 1515, 21286.7 c. 1525 and 21287, dated 1557.

⁵⁹Williams (2000), pp. xvii–xix.

⁶⁰STC Addenda 21286.2.

⁶¹Braden et al. (2010), p. 459.

⁶²The earlier one is the translation of John Leland’s *Assertio inelytissimi Arturij regis Britanniae*, published as ‘A learned and true assertion of the life of prince Arthure’ in 1582 (STC 15441). The complication for the dating is a list of ‘All Robynsons [...] Books printed and written’ in the 1602 edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* (STC (2nd ed.) / 21288.5), where Robynson lists the dates of his GR editions as ‘1577. 1590. 1597., 1602’, none but the latest date of the edition this information is being given within corresponding to the data we have from modern catalogues. Since Robynson was constantly on desperate search for patronage, Braden et al. (2010), p. 459, dedicating different editions of the same text to different patrons (as 1595 vs. 1602), the question might be justified whether we should take this long list of his works at face value.

Argument before each story and changed the title”.⁶³ The new tripartite structure of each story—narration, ‘the morall’, and ‘the argument’—distinguishes the revised version from all the editions up to 1577.

The relation between the older and the newer English versions can be demonstrated with two examples. One example was already discussed by P. Williams:⁶⁴

By this Emperour ye maye vnderstonde euery crysten man that purposed to vysyte **the holy londe** / that is to saye to gete euerlastynge lyfe **through werkes of mercy**.⁶⁵

By this Emperor ye maye vnderstād every Christian man that purposeth to v[is]it **the Citie of Hierusalem**, that is to saye to get euerlastynge life **through fruitfull faith**.⁶⁶

Wrth yr amherawdr hynn i y mae i ni ddeall pob kriston, a sydd yn meddwl myned i weled **dinas Kaerysaem**, hynny yw i ennill bywyd tragwddol [sic] **trwy ffydd ffyddlon**.⁶⁷

By this emperor we are to understand every Christian who thinks of going to see the city of Jerusalem, that is, to win eternal life through faithful faith [sic, the literal translation of the Welsh text by E.P.]

Here we see that ‘the holy land’ and ‘werkes of mercy’ of the earlier English version are substituted by ‘the Citie of Hierusalem’ and ‘fruitful faith’ in the revised version, which has correspondences in the Welsh translation, although the Welsh translator substitutes fruitful by ‘faithful’ in *trwy ffydd ffyddlon*, literally, ‘through faithful faith’. Both changes are not stylistic, but theologically driven. But these ‘reformed’ changes are not consistently incorporated into the Welsh text, as the next example shows:

This Emperour betokeneth the fader of heuen His sone betokeneth our lorde Ihesu cryste whome many men desyre to nourysshe **at eester when they receyue the sacrament**. Neuerthelesse he y^e best iusteth with y^e deuyll & ouercometh hym **thruge penaūce** The knyght y^e toke this chyld with hy^r betokeneth a good crysten man y^e **fasted truly & blyssedly all y^e lente before**⁶⁸

This Emperour betokeneth the father of Heauen, his sonne beetokeneth our Lord Jesus Christ, whome many men desired to nourish, **at such time as they receiued the sacrament of his death and passion**. Hee nourisheth him that best iusteth with the diuell, & **ouercommeth him through godly life**. The knight that tooke this childe with him, beetooketh a good christian man **that euermore absteineth truly from doing euill, and laboreth cōtinually to doe good to all men**.⁶⁹

⁶³RCC 2009: 6356. <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/rcc/print.php?page=print&id=6356>. Accessed: 19 July 2022.

⁶⁴Williams (2002), p. 39.

⁶⁵Gesta Romanorum (1510). All emphasis E.P.

⁶⁶Gesta Romanorum (1595).

⁶⁷Williams (2000), p. 43.

⁶⁸Gesta Romanorum (1510).

⁶⁹Gesta Romanorum (1595).

Yr amherawdr hynn a arwyddoka y Tad o'r nef, a'i vab ef a arwyddoka yn Harglwydd ni, Jesü Grist, **yr hwnn i mae llawer yn daisyf i gael ef yddy vagv y Pasg, pan vont yn rysevo y sakraven.** A'r vn a ymladdo yn orav a'r diawl, ag a'i gorchvygo ef **drwy benyd,** a sydd yn magv y mab. Y marchog, a gymerth y mab hynn yddy vagv gydag ef, a arwyddoka y kriston da **a sydd yn ymprydio y Grawys o'r blaen yn ddevosionol.**⁷⁰

This emperor signifies the father of Heaven, and his son signifies our Lord, Jesus Christ, whom many desire to nourish, when they receive / are receiving the sacrament. And he who fights the best with the devil, and overcomes him through penance, nourishes the son. The knight, who took the child to be brought up by him, signifies the good Christian who fasts with devotion throughout Lent beforehand / during the preceding Lent. [the literal translation of the Welsh text by E.P.]

Here none of the changes that are connected with Reformation (penance substituted by godly life, change of literal fasting to metaphorical abstinence from doing evil) are incorporated into the Welsh text, which closely follows the earlier version.

Patricia Williams⁷¹ suggested that at some point a Welsh translation was made from the Wynkyn de Worde version of the text, which was later corrected using the new Robynson version.⁷² The structure of each story in the Welsh version is definitely the one of the earlier version, not the new tripartite one. Parallels with the new version, of which a two instances occur in the first example above, are not consistent and rather superficial. P. Williams rightly notices that we cannot know for sure whether Llywelyn Siôn was aware of *arlliw'r Diwygiad* 'a touch of the Reformation'⁷³ in the version he copied. Whatever his personal awareness of its confessional affiliations, a textual analysis shows that it cannot be classified as an unambiguously anti-Protestant, pro-Catholic text that would suit only one confession.

7.1.3 Dives a Phawper

Llywelyn Siôn is also responsible for the transmission of another text that was published in England before the Reformation, *Dives et Pauper*. This early 15th century dialogue on faith of English origin is transmitted in seven manuscripts and at least three early prints—first published by Pynson in 1493, by Wyncyn de Worde in 1496, and by Bertheleti in 1536, but never after the Reformation.⁷⁴ The Welsh version thereof appears in two manuscripts dated to around 1600,

⁷⁰Williams (2000), p. 47.

⁷¹Williams (2000).

⁷²See also Kunze (2018), p. 70.

⁷³Williams (2002), p. 42.

⁷⁴On the manuscripts see Barnum (1976), (1980), (2004); the prints are STC (2nd edn.) 19212–19214.

both in the hand of Llywelyn Siôn. Cardiff 2.618⁷⁵ contains only this text, while Cardiff 3.240, dated 1600, contains two texts, *Y Drych Kristnogawl* and *Dives a Phawper*.⁷⁶ At the end of the text in the latter manuscript the following remark is found:

Yma i diwedda yr ymddiddan a vü rhwng Dives a Phawper, sef yw hynny, o'r deg gorchymyn; yr hwnn lyfr a orffennwyd y pvméd dydd o vis Gorffennaf, pan oedd oed Krist 1493, ag a brintiwyd gan Risiart Pinson ymyl Barr y Deml yn Llvndain. Ag velly i terfyna y llyfr hwnn om llaw j Llen Sion o Langewydd, y 30 o Orffennaf oedran Krist 1600, o demasad Elizabeth yn grasysaf vrenhines

Here ends the dialogue between the Rich and the Poor, that is, on the ten commandments; the which book [i.e. the English edition] was completed on the 5th of July of the age of Christ 1493, and published by Richard Pynson near the Temple Bar in London. And so ends this book by my hand, Llywelyn Siôn from Llangewydd, the 30th July of the age of Christ 1600, of the reign of Elizabeth the most gracious queen, the 42 year.⁷⁷

Daniel Huws⁷⁸ notices that the text must have been transmitted as a recusant tract and the combination with Robert Gwyn's text clearly points in that direction, but it would be worth investigating how usual the reference to the recusant-persecuting Elizabeth by the formula the “most gracious queen” was in recusant manuscripts. What is also unclear is the date of the translation—was it done before the Reformation and thus belong to the strata of older texts that remained popular or was it translated later as an antidote to the newer Protestant teachings? The answer to that might be found in a detailed linguistic analysis of the text, although even so it might remain open.

7.1.4 Treigl y Marchog Crwydrad

The last item on the list of G. J. Williams is possibly the most illuminating case for the fluidity of confessional affiliations. It is the text known in Welsh as *Treigl y Marchog Crwydrad* ‘The Voyage of the Wandering Knight’, found in five manuscripts, three of them dating from the 16th century.⁷⁹ Two of the copies are penned by Ieuan ab Ieuan ap Madog of Betws, Glamorgan (fl.1575), who was associated with Llywelyn Siôn and was thus part of the Glamorgan network of scribes.

⁷⁵ RMWL Havod 4, s. xvi/xvii.

⁷⁶ The Welsh text remains unpublished, only two chapters are printed from Cardiff 2.618 in *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg I* (1954), pp. 133–136.

⁷⁷ *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg I* (1954), p. 133, transl. E.P.

⁷⁸ Huws (2022), vol. 1, p. 563.

⁷⁹ See Smith (2002), pp. lxiii–lxix.

As in the case of *Gesta Romanorum*, the Welsh text is a translation of a translation. The original text *Le Voyage du Chevalier Errant* was published by Jean Cartigny, a Carmelite Friar (c.1520–c.1578–80) in Antwerp in 1557. It is a “religious allegory masquerading behind the trappings of chivalric romance”⁸⁰ and is an example of Counter-Reformation didactic literature of the time.

On the 27th of May 1581 its translation into English was published in London, where printing of Catholic works was prohibited at the time. The text was preceded by a long and florid dedication “to the right worshipfull sir frauncis drake, knight”, written by Robert Norman, an instrument-maker and hydrographer. This edition “must be seen as an immediate reaction to Drake’s freshly received knighthood, awarded by the queen herself on board Drake’s vessel, the *Golden Hinde*, on 4 April in that same year in Deptford”.⁸¹ The preface praises Francis Drake, newly returned from his three-year voyage around the world. The author of the preface describes the circumnavigation in religious terms, drawing clear parallels with the following text and representing Drake’s voyage as “the spiritual pilgrimage of human life”.⁸² The translator, William Goodyear “of South-hampton, Merchant”, about whom nothing else is known “alters little in the narrative, apart from aligning its theology with that of the Elizabethan Church, and tacitly and tactfully removing a reference to the evils of piracy from Cartheny’s text (cf. *Voyage*, 63)”.⁸³ Dorothy Atkinson Evans, who prepared the 1951 edition of the English text, suggested that “[p]robably Goodyear knew much less than we do about Cartigny [implying his confessional affiliation] and perhaps he saw in the story an instrument for good and a symbol of universal human experience which bore no stamp of dogma”.⁸⁴ To me this suggestion of the translator’s ignorance is unnecessary and I would rather follow Nievergelt and see in this French–English translation “an interesting phenomenon in itself: it transplants a clearly Counter-Reformation text to a foreign theological soil with few alterations, and thus raises interesting questions about cross-confessional translation practice and the fluidity of denominational affiliations in Elizabethan England”.⁸⁵

A few years after the text is published in English it is translated into Welsh—we know for sure that the English edition is the immediate source since *Wiliam Godyar* is named in the Welsh text. The earliest manuscript can be dated ca. 1585.

⁸⁰Nievergelt (2009), p. 56.

⁸¹Nievergelt (2009), p. 58.

⁸²Nievergelt (2009), p. 66.

⁸³Nievergelt (2009), p. 64.

⁸⁴Evans (1951), p. xxxiv.

⁸⁵Nievergelt (2009), p. 64. Another slightly later example of denominational fluidity in the history of Welsh literature is Boaistuau’s *Théâtre du Monde* translated by Rhosier Smyth, who was a Catholic and produced Counter-Reformation works. Gruffydd (1959) notes that Boaistuau’s *Théâtre* ‘is not one of the books which derives from the Counter-Reformation movement’. That this text also suited Protestant readers is shown by the publication of its English translations by John Alday during the reign of Elizabeth I in London in 1566 (or 1567), 1574, and 1581 (STC 2ed. 3168–3170). The use of the same texts on the different sides of the

There is no Francis Drake dedication and no preface by Robert Norman in the Welsh text. The English-Welsh translation is rather close, with one specific exception: French and English editions give full versions of canonical texts, such as the Ten Commandments, Apostles’ Creed and the Lord’s Prayer. In the Welsh version only the first sentences of the canonical texts are indicated:

Wherefore I am sorye and doe heartelye repent mee for the breach of them, and in token whereof I make my confession, saiang.

I Beleuee in God the Father almightie, maker of heuen & earth. And in Iesus Christ his only sonne our Lord. Which was conceaued by the holy Ghost. Borne of the virgin Marie. Suffred vnder Ponce Pilate. Was crucified, dead & buried. He descended into hell, the third day he rose againe frō the dead. He ascended into heauen, and sitteth at the right hand of God, the Father almightie. From thēce he shal come to iudge the quick & the dead. I beleuee in the holy Ghost. The holy Catholike Church. The communion of Saints. The forgiuennesse of sinnes. The resurrection of the body. And the life euerlasting, Amen.⁸⁶

Ac am hynny yr wyf i yn ddolyrys ag ynn etifarhay am y dryllio hwynt, ag yn arwydd ar hyny yr wyf yn gwnaethyr fy nghyffes, gan ddwedyd fal hyn, ‘Yr wyf i yn credy mewn vn Duw Dad hollallyog, gwnaethyrwr nef a dayar’ ac felly adrodd gwbl o byngcay y ffydd Gatholig.⁸⁷

The exact wording *byngcay y ffydd Catholig* (‘points of Catholic faith’) does not necessarily imply Papist inclinations—*pynkey yr ffydd Catholig* is the alternative title of the *Credo* in the 1546 Reformist book *Yn y lhyvyr hwnn*, a small collection of basic texts about the Christian faith (*[p]ynkey yr ffydd gatholic*), so this adjective could be used in the broader ecclesiastical sense of ‘universal’.⁸⁸ But the omission of the full versions of all three canonical texts (the Ten Commandments, Apostles’ Creed and the Lord’s Prayer) is intriguing. By 1581 printed versions of these texts translated by Reformists existed (in the *Yn y lhyvyr hwnn* all three texts and in

confessional divide is also found in other European literatures, for some German examples see Toepfer (2007), p. 81, and Schmidt (2016), pp. 69–80.

⁸⁶The Voyage (1581), p. 121.

⁸⁷Smith (2002), p. 104, ll. 3919–3924. EYn tad rhwn wyt yn y nefoed, santeiddier dy enw: Deuet dy deyrnas: Bid dy ewylls ar y daiar megis y mae yn nefoedd: Dyro i ni heðiw eyn bara beunyddiol. A maðaw i ni eyn dyledion mal y maddeuwn ni in dyledwyr. Ac nac arwein ni ym-prouedigaeth. Eithr gwaret ni rhac drwc: Amen. Lliwer Gweddi (1567): image 38 (unnumbered).

CRedaf yn nuw dad oll gyuoethawc creawdr nef a daiar. Ac yn Iesu Christ y vn mab ef, eyn Arglwydd ni: Yr hwn a gat trwy’r yspryt glan, y aned o vair vorwyn. A ddiodeuawdd dan Pontius Pilatus, y grogwyd, a vu varw, ac a glaðwyd. Descennawdd y yffern, y trydydd y cyuodaidd o veirw. Escenawdd ir nefoedd ac y mae vn eistedd ar ddeheulaw Dduw dad oll gyuoethawc. O ðyno y daw i varnu byw a meirw. Credaf yn yr yspryt glan, yr Eccleis lan gatholic cymmyn saint, maddeuant pechotau. Cyuodiat cnawd, a bywyt tragwyddawl. Amen. Lliwer Gweddi (1567), image 42.

⁸⁸Cf. the title of the preface by Bishop Richard Davies to the New Testament (1567): “Richard can rat DYW Episcop Menew, yn damuni adnewyddiat yr hen ffydd catholic a gollaun Evangel Christ i r Cembu oll, yn enwedic i bop map eneid dyn o wevn ey Escopawt” (‘Richard by the

Llyfr Gweddi Cyffredin (William Salesbury's translation of The Book of Common Prayer published 1567), Lord's Prayer and the Creed)—and the first sentence of the Creed does not correspond to these printed versions. The editor of the Welsh text suggested that at the points indicated those who would read out the text and the hearers of the Welsh text read aloud for them would be familiar with the Catholic versions of the translations⁸⁹ and therefore would not need the entire text. His strong statement implies that *Treigl y Marchog Crwydrad* was one of the texts that were used by some Catholics to strengthen their faith in the time of Protestant persecution and encourage them to keep to the old faith.

7.2 On the Entire Group of Texts

We can now reassess G. J. Williams's list of the translations believed to have been undertaken by the Glamorgan translators in the 16th century. It is difficult to pinpoint exact linguistic or stylistic features that would be exclusive to his group of texts. It has been said that "the prose found in these texts follows the pattern of the Middle Ages rather than that of the Renaissance humanists",⁹⁰ but it seems to be true for other translations not associated with Glamorgan, e.g., the collection transmitted in a northern manuscript Llanstephan 34 (1580–1600).⁹¹

Inherent features of the traditional manuscript transmission to which these texts belong are in most cases their elusiveness for exact dating and their anonymity. Both of these factors undermine the possibility of their clear denominational classification.

Some, like *Treigl y Marchog Crwydrad* can be dated safely, but the translations of Mirk's *Festial* or of *Gesta Romanorum* could have been produced prior to the Reformation. If so, how can we interpret their transmission? It has been noted that "[d]uring England's period of transition from a near-uniformly Catholic to a largely Protestant society, the popery or the catholicity of a previously existing Catholic text depended not on its contents, but on the individual recipient's degree of ideological awareness. At some irrecoverable point, a medieval celebration of Corpus Christi or a folk carol about the Virgin would have become a Catholic text

grace of God Bishop of Menevia, wishing the renewal of the old Catholic Faith and the light of the Gospel of Christ to all the Welsh, especially to every soul within his diocese'), where Catholic Faith is the Christianity before the Papist corruption.

⁸⁹ Smith (2002), p. xciv.

⁹⁰ Owen (1979), p. 355.

⁹¹ For example *Buchedd Catrin Sant*, see Williams (1972–1974), further investigations in language and style of these texts are required.

to a singer or copyist, not simply a religious one”.⁹² This must be true for Wales as well, but the texts like *Gesta Romanorum* do not bear such clear signs of dogma and there is also the question of how fast confessional awareness spread across the textual community.

Connected to this issue is the prevalent anonymity of this textual community—of the translators of the texts and the owners of the manuscripts. Whether this continues anonymity as a feature of medieval culture or is due to contemporary persecutions of Catholics during the Elizabethan period is impossible to say. We know more about the scribes, as mentioned above, three of six texts in G. J. Williams’s list, *Gesta Romanorum*, *Dives a Phawper* and *Drych Cristianogawl*, were penned by Llywelyn Siôn, “the greatest professional copyist of his time”, and also a poet himself. He was registered in recusant rolls⁹³ and the copying of Robert Gwyn’s treatise was clearly an act in support of the Catholic faith, but the reference to Elisabeth I as *Elzabeth yn grasysaf vrenhines* (‘Elizabeth our most gracious queen’)⁹⁴ and the fact that at least one of the texts he has copied derives from the mainstream Protestant print culture imply that we should not necessarily see him and his audience as ardent Counter-Reformists. It might be time to re-evaluate the assessment of these texts’ intentions as ‘raising the hearts of Papist recusants of their time by encouraging them to stick to the old faith and not to subjugate to the new Protestant ideology’.⁹⁵

7.3 Conclusions

In this paper I attempted to assess the issues of politics and policies connected with a particular group of texts said to have been produced in South Wales in the second half of the 16th century.

The discussion above has shown that, first, we cannot be certain that these texts are all indeed a product of one ‘school’ of translators, the Gospel readings and translations from Mirk’s *Festial* might belong to another context, and *Y Drych Cristianogawl* is an original text, not a translation and therefore has a different status—it is, however, a recusant text.

As for the other three texts, some generalizations about a late 16th century Glamorgan textual community might be attempted. Politics, as in Peter Burke’s definition, ‘affairs of state’ are only distantly linked with this local and low-key strand of textual transmission, and most of the actors of this literary community remain anonymous.

⁹² Shell (1999), p. 11.

⁹³ Williams (1974), p. 239.

⁹⁴ It should be noted that the formula can be regarded not as expression genuine admiration for the monarch, but as a legal formula. I am grateful to Dr Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan for drawing my attention to this fact.

⁹⁵ Smith (2002), pp. xxiv–xxv, transl. E.P.

Although it is risky to attempt any broad conclusions on the basis of rather small manuscript evidence, it could be suggested that the selection mechanisms at work in this culture of translation are steered by the conservatism of the target audience.⁹⁶ It is reflected both in the language and style of the works, as well as by the trends in choosing the source texts for translation. For two of the texts, *Gesta Romanorum* and *Dives and Pauper*, the originals were composed before the Reformation and do not deal with sophisticated theological questions, but rather with everyday piety and basic tenets of Christian faith. The tendency to classify these texts as clearly pro-Catholic might be affected rather by the politics or rather vagaries of historiography. How exactly to interpret their confessional fluidity remains a question. It is unlikely that we see here a sign of religious toleration in the modern sense,⁹⁷ but these examples of “simple and generally acceptable Christian piety”⁹⁸ might be investigated further as landmarks in the complex dynamics of confessional identities in a peripheral region in a turbulent age of British history.⁹⁹

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⁹⁶It would be rewarding to think more of the connection of conservatism vs. innovations and the regional periphery vs. center / rural vs. urban in relation to the dynamics of the Welsh culture, however this argument is left behind the scope of this article.

⁹⁷Cf. Walsham (2013).

⁹⁸Williams (2000), S. 155.

⁹⁹Another rewarding step would be to analyse this case study from periphery within a broader discourse of religious and confessional ambiguity of the Early Modern period as presented in Pietsch und Stollberg-Rilinger (2013). I am grateful to Prof Antje Flüchter for drawing my attention to this work.

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Kapitel 8

The Translucence of the Missionary Translation in Seventeenth-Century South India: Cultural Filters, Translation Policies, Textual and Conceptual Grids



Giulia Nardini

Embedded, as they are, in a complex web of global connections, historical events and developments cannot be perceived as autochthonous because they do not result from intracultural factors alone.¹ Every historical context is a “contact zone”² where the cultural encounter takes place, where the encounter between multilingual / multicultural agents create a dynamic of ideas, doctrines, and meanings. In order to comprehend historical events, we should conceive of contact zones as “translation zones”,³ where the production of knowledge and the construction of cultures and religions is inextricably intertwined with the process of translating cultures and religions. In this contact zone, where differences must be negotiated and cultural boundaries crossed or established, religion plays a central role: it is a transfer of culture, a medium for conveying cultural, social, and political messages, it can be an instrument of communication, a means of circulating knowledge, or a symptom of cultural incommensurability and untranslatability. Although the term ‘religion’ bears strong Eurocentric and Christian etymological connotations, I use it as a theoretical concept, and I redefine the dominion of the concept of religion to encompass Christian and non-Christian phenomena. ‘Religion’ is meant in the following as a cultural representation defined by: 1. a theological or ideological datum (the dimension of the sacred word, of belief, of doctrine, of theological reflection), 2. a practical

¹ Cf. Brauner und Flüchter (2017).

² Cf. Pratt (1991).

³ Cf. Apter (2006).

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or ritual datum (the dimension of action), and 3. the social basis of beliefs and practices (as there is no individual religion).⁴

The process of translation is central to outlining religious concepts and traditions.⁵ Religion and translation are often defined in relation to a collective group pattern and to an ‘original’.⁶ But religions and translations are dynamic processes subject to constant redefinition. Within the mechanism of transferring and translating religious meanings, religions show their dynamism. From this perspective I view religion as the result of multiple translations and multiple identities, as a transcultural⁷ act. Transculturality reveals how every religion is internally hybrid, a conglomeration of different social groups and the successive realization of a number of possible identities, multiple attachments, and overlapping identities. It allows us to transcend the monolithic idea of cultural identity and embrace the discontinuity of religious tradition. Mauro Pesce, for example, describes the history of Christianity as a discontinuity, as the study of interruptions in tradition.⁸ It is important to investigate how history or religions are based on the process of translating religious concepts and practices and how different translations have determined different understandings and different representations of religions in the past and may continue to do so in the present. Whereas the connection between culture and translation has been studied in many works,⁹ religion in translation has hitherto received far less scholarly attention.¹⁰ My focus is on the translation of religious concepts and practices in the missionary context of South India in the sixteenth century, employing ‘cultural translation’ as an analytical tool.

8.1 The Elements of Cultural Translation: Structure, Actors, Policy, and Politics of Translation

Translation is a multidimensional, metalinguistic, and performative process that has also been referred to as ‘cultural translation’.¹¹ This term was originally coined by anthropologists in the circle of Edward Evans-Pritchard to describe

⁴“1. dato teologico o ideologico (la dimensione della parola sacra, della credenza, della dottrina, della riflessione teologica), 2. un dato pratico o rituale (la dimensione dell’azione) e 3. la base sociale delle credenze e delle pratiche (dal momento che non esiste una religione individuale)”, Filoramo (2004), p. 84.

⁵Israel (2019).

⁶Israel (2019).

⁷For more information about the concept of “transculturality”, see Flüchter and Schöttli (2014); Juneja and Kravagna (2013).

⁸Pesce (2018).

⁹Trivedi (2007), pp. 277–287; regarding the question of whether cultures can be translated at all, cf. Asad (1986), pp. 151–164.

¹⁰Dejonge und Tietz (2015).

¹¹Most relevant is the work of Burke und Hsia (2007). Cf. also Cronin (1996) and Lutter (2014).

what happens in cultural encounters when each side tries to make sense of the other's actions: "Cultural translation is a double process of de-contextualization and re-contextualization, of appropriating something alien and then domesticating it."¹² Indeed, the 'cultural turn' in translation studies helps us conceive of translation not in terms of faithfulness to an 'original' but as a dynamic equivalence, where the source is somehow still present but everything is constantly changing. As defined in Walter Benjamin's famous metaphor,

Just as a tangent touches a circle lightly and at but one point, with this touch rather than with the point setting the law according to which it is to continue on its straight path to infinity, a translation touches the original lightly and only at the infinitely small point of the sense, thereupon pursuing its own course according to the laws of fidelity in the freedom of linguistic flux.¹³

As every translation is in and of itself a mode,¹⁴ a pseudo translation,¹⁵ or a translucence,¹⁶ my aim is to detect the elements within the translation process in which the translation is embedded (such as actors, policies, and politics). If the construction of religions / traditions is based on a constant process of translation; the focus of the analysis is on the process of translation itself.

In order to analyse the translation process, I apply a theoretical 'tool kit'—a combination of theories from different translation studies—developed by Antje Flüchter and myself.¹⁷ On the level of linguistic / semantic analysis, my focus is on differentiating between textual and conceptual grids as theorized by André Lefevere (1945) for analysing the structure of a translation. In the translation, the textual / conceptual grid serves as a kind of text marker that exhibits a shared symbolic household in a literary context¹⁸. By analysing the textual grids, we can obtain information about the literary genres in which the translation is embedded. Conceptual grids are the concepts, messages, and contents that shape the translation. For Lefevere, these grids refer to a rather general and fundamental perspective, a kind of colonial or religious framing.¹⁹ We broaden this concept with the observation that translators translate not only in a special mental setting, but also refer to or choose specific topics and thus structure their readers' understanding.

We moreover examine the textual / conceptual grids through the lens of formal or dynamic equivalences as developed by Eugene Nida (1914–2011).²⁰

¹² Burke und Hsia (2007), p. 9.

¹³ Benjamin (1968) in Venuti (2012), p. 22.

¹⁴ Benjamin (1968) in Venuti (2012), p. 16.

¹⁵ Toury (1980).

¹⁶ Chakrabarty (2000).

¹⁷ Flüchter und Nardini (2020).

¹⁸ Lefevere (2002).

¹⁹ Lefevere (1998), p. 77.

²⁰ Nida (2003).

This is necessary for analysing the different kinds of equivalences and avoiding references to any ‘original’ or ‘identity’. The translation oscillates between formal and dynamic equivalences as the two extremes of a range of possible translations, where dynamic equivalence is a translation focused on the message and directed towards the ‘receptor’s’ response, while formal equivalence is source-oriented.²¹ Whereas formal equivalence, in Nida’s view, focuses on the form and contents of the source and can be referred to as a “‘gloss’ translation”, “dynamic equivalence” seeks to ensure that “the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message”.²² Thus whereas dynamic equivalence reveals the topics and characters of the target message, formal equivalence uncovers the form and content of the source message.

At this point we interpret the results of dynamic equivalence and formal equivalence through the lens of domestication / foreignization as defined by Lawrence Venuti²³ in order to unearth the political negotiation of meanings and we add Venuti’s theories to those of Nida and Lefevere. Venuti conceives of every translation as a political act aimed at domesticating or foreignizing cultural meanings from a source context to a target context. A foreignizing translation carries the characters of the foreign culture to the target culture and thus the translator codifies the means by which the alterity is characterized and ascribed in the target culture. Translation focuses not only on the foreign text, but also reflects the domestic values, beliefs, and representations of the target culture, which the translator adopts and inscribes in it²⁴. Analysing how the translation is foreignized or domesticated—that is, how the meanings and the characters of the source or target culture are translated and transferred—reveals important information about the function fulfilled by the translation and the embedded power structures which influenced the translation decisions.

Translation is also a practice, and it is practised for the purpose of translating cultural and religious practices. Anthony Giddens conceptualized the process of translation as something that is dis- and re-embedded through the performance and repetition of, for example, religious practice or rituals.²⁵ The translation process is performed by the repetitive act of de- and re-contextualizing words, phrases, and other entities. Understanding translation as a practice has many methodological advantages, as Maeve Olohan recently worked out for / in the field of translation studies.²⁶ The perspective on translation as a practice—an embodied and materially mediated social practice—highlights the relevance of routines and institutionalized structures within this context.

²¹ Nida (2012).

²² Nida, (2012), p. 129.

²³ Venuti (2012).

²⁴ Venuti (2012).

²⁵ Giddens (1984).

²⁶ Olohan (2020).

Every social context is a kind of fabric or grid defined by rules. Individuals are subject to rules—that is, the strategies created by the power hegemonies for ruling and governing the masses. The agents, however, are not just passive consumers, but create tactics for operating and applying the strategies in their everyday practice. Michel De Certeau links “strategies” with institutions and power structures, which are the “producers”, while individuals are “consumers” acting in environments defined by strategies by using “tactics”.²⁷ A city, for example, is shaped by roads (the strategies created by the institutions). The individuals, however, can use shortcuts, for example, or in general move in ways that are tactical in nature and never fully determined by the plans of the strategic grid of the streets. Everyday life, by analogy, plays out in ways that are influenced, but never wholly determined, by the rules of cultures and societies.

Like every practice, the practice of translation is entwined in a fabric characterized by different elements: structure, actors, and factors. The structure of the translation practice is constituted by the setting in which the translation takes place: the literary genre, geographical and architectural environment, and social and political context. The first actor of the translation is the translator, followed by the primary and the secondary addressers and the power hierarchies reflected by the translation process. Translation is not a neutral act but a negotiation of meanings, structures, messages, and values between the poles of assimilation and subversion. In the translation process, some concepts / meanings resist the process of assimilation by means of a kind of untranslatability or subversion. Some concepts are only transliterated or left untranslated altogether. The negotiation and selection of the concepts to be translated, domesticated, or left untranslated are epistemological and political acts by the power agencies involved. In fact, the selection process establishes which characters and values will be part of the translation and thus of the respective religions / cultures. Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler describe how translation plays both a political and epistemological role and how the act of translation itself is involved in the production of knowledge. They also point out the importance of translation as a force for innovation and the role of translators in changing power discourses.²⁸ The process of translation is therefore highly influenced by the politics of translation and the power hierarchies involved.

What is more, the policies of translation—“those factors that govern the choice of text types; or even of individual texts, to be imported through translation into a particular culture / language at a particular point in time”—cooperate in the translation process.²⁹ The policies of translation are part of the structure of the translation, or, more specifically, of the socio-cultural, economical, religious, and linguistic rules and principles governing it, and generate the norms which regulate the translation.

²⁷ De Certeau (1984).

²⁸ Gentzler und Tymoczko (2002).

²⁹ Toury (1995), p. 58.

As theorized by Giddens and Bourdieu, there is a biunivocal interdependent relationship between the structure (the society) and the actors (the individual).³⁰ Whereas the actions of people (actors) create the structure (the social context), their agency is only meaningful within a given social structure. Actors, while bounded in structure, draw upon their knowledge of that structural context when they act. However, actions are constrained by actors. The practices precede the action and the action produces, reproduces, and sometimes modifies the practices³¹. In this model, the actor is not the old independent subject, but a “social intersubjective actor”.³² Practices thus precedes actions, frame them, and are socially and culturally contingent. But they are also driven by the actor’s intention.³³ The translation is moreover shaped by the functions it fulfils: is it a means of communications? of becoming acquainted with other cultures? of spreading knowledge? of dominating another culture?³⁴

When I apply the theories of cultural translation³⁵ to the missionary translation, the translation appears translucent and reveals its constituent elements: its actors, factors, and structure. Through the translucence of the missionary translation, I can grasp historical details and uncover part of the historical scenario.

8.2 *Informatio de quibusdam moribus nationis Indicae* (1613): The Practice of Translation as a Missionary Strategy

My case study investigates the historical scenario of a Jesuit missionary in South India³⁶ based on the analysis of the translation practice of the Italian Jesuit missionary Roberto Nobili (1577–1656).³⁷ Nobili arrived in Madurai (today Tamil Nadu) on 15 November 1606. There he encountered the Jesuit Gonçalo Fernandes, formerly a Portuguese soldier, who was already operating as a missionary in Madurai. Supported by his Jesuit superiors in India, among them Francisco Ros, archbishop of Cranganore, and Alberto Laerzio,³⁸ the Jesuit superior of Malabar

³⁰Giddens (1984); Bourdieu (1977).

³¹Giddens (1984).

³²Giddens (1984).

³³Epple (2018), pp. 404–405; Alkemeyer (2015).

³⁴Nardini (2021).

³⁵My working tools were developed by Antje Flüchter and myself in the application for a DFG project SPP 2130. See Nardini (2021).

³⁶On cultural translation in the Jesuit missions in Japan, see Triplett in this volume (s. Chap. 9).

³⁷Nardini (2017).

³⁸Letter from F. Ros to C. Acquaviva, Cranganore 19 November 1613, in ARSI, GOA, 51, pp. 195–197, quoted in Županov (2005).

Province, Nobili developed his missionary strategy for the evangelization of Tamil people in the Madurai mission: he dissociated himself from Fernandes (whom locals considered a *Prangui*,³⁹ or foreigner, and excluded from the local social hierarchy) and started dressing in the clothes of a *Samnyāsa* (a Hindu ascetic), following a vegetarian diet, learning the Tamil and Sanskrit languages, and studying Tamil and Sanskrit literature. Nobili believed that only by translating and accommodating himself to a local missionary model could he establish a dialogue with the local people. He therefore translated and domesticated Catholic practice and concepts into the grids of Hindu Tamil Brahmanism (the cultural and religious elite), and the image and the role of a Jesuit missionary into a Hindu *Samnyāsa*. The missionary method adopted by Nobili, defined as accommodation,⁴⁰ is based on the twofold cultural translation of theology, literature, and social and religious practices. In the role of a cultural broker, Nobili translated Catholic doctrine into the Tamil language and practices for the Tamil target group of the Madurai mission: he translated his missionary character, the Catholic theology, rituals, prayers, and books⁴¹. The process of translation and accommodation created a transcultural missionary model.

As a transcultural actor in a Catholic Tamil context, Nobili shaped his actions around the local social practices, and in doing so participated in structuring a transcultural community.⁴² His letters and his writings in Tamil report on and testify to this cultural translation.⁴³

Conversely, Nobili translated the Tamil social context for the Catholic prelates in India and Rome. He translated and domesticated the social Tamil characters into the Roman Latin Catholic grids to make them accessible to the Latin Roman

³⁹ *Prangui*, or *Frangui* is a deformation of the word “Franks” as the Portuguese were called in South India. There are different versions of the same term, including *prangui*, *paranghi*, *firanghi*. See entry *Paranghee* in Yule (1996). Roberto Nobili explains the etymology and pejorative meaning of the term in his treaty *Responsio ad ea, quae contra modum, quo nova Missio Madurensis utitur ad Ethnicos Christo convertendos abiecta sunt* (Madurai, 12 ottobre, 1610) manuscript copy in Goa 51 ff. 125–144 and Goa 51, ff. 145–161, published by Dahmen (1931).

⁴⁰ It derived from the original Latin *accommodatio*; the Judaeo-Christian exegetical tradition introduced the term in connection with the *hermeneutic* interpretation of metaphorical and allegorical language of scripture. See Burke (2009), pp. 43–44.

⁴¹ Nardini (2017), (2021).

⁴² Nardini (2021).

⁴³ I have already analysed Nobili’s cultural translation of the *Ñāna Upadēsam*, ambiguously labelled by librarians as *Catechismus Romanus*, carried out by Roberto Nobili from 1605 to 1656. A copy of the manuscript is in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris: Nobili, Roberto. (1720). *Catechismus Romanus (Nānayupadecam)*, Tamil, manuscript on paper. India 459, fol. 1–366 and Nobili, Roberto. *Catechismus Romanus, tertia pars*, Tamil, Indien 460, fol. 1–362. A Portuguese translation by Baltasar Da Costa in 1661 (published in 1667), is available at the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. The first edition of the *Ñāna Upadēsam* was printed in Ambalakhad in 1675–1676 and published in 1677. A copy has been preserved in the Goa State Central Library. A modern edition is published in Rajamanickam, Savarimuthu (ed.). 1966. Roberto Nobili, *Ñāna Upadēsam*. Tuticorin: Tamil Literature Society.

audience and adapt them to the orthodoxy of Catholicism. In his Latin trilogy, the *Responsio* (1610),⁴⁴ *Informatio* (1613),⁴⁵ and *Narratio* (1619),⁴⁶ he translated and described the elements—the social groups and power hierarchies—of the Tamil society.

I already analysed Nobili's translation of the Catholic doctrine for the Tamil context in other papers⁴⁷, now I focus on a main Latin source, the *Informatio*,⁴⁸ which Nobili wrote after five years of missionary life in South India in support and explanation of his missionary method⁴⁹ vis-à-vis the prelates of the Roman church in India. In this work, he accurately translated the practices, social groups, and social hierarchy of the Brahmanic context, reshaped and recodified the Tamil social characters for the Catholic orthodoxy, carried out a cultural translation, and created dynamic equivalences transferring the practices and meanings of the Tamil social context into the grids of the Latin, Catholic context.

8.3 The Translucence of the *Informatio* Through the Lens of the Analytical Tool Kit Provided by Cultural Translation

I applied my analytical tools to the *Informatio*, starting with Lefevre's theories of textual and conceptual grids. With these tools I determined the elements of Nobili's cultural translation: seen through the lens of textual grids, the *Informatio* exhibits a structure characteristic of a Latin literary genre: the skeleton of the translation corresponds to that of a Latin medieval epistle. The examination of the conceptual grids reveals a transcultural semantic fabric interweaving Hindu-Tamil with Latin-Catholic concepts and practices.

In the *Informatio*, the textual grids exhibit the literary structure of the medieval epistolary *dictamen*: a quadripartite format, divided into *salutatio*, *exordium*, *narratio*, and *conclusio*. This style was used by the Jesuit founder Ignatius of Loyola and adopted by the Society of Jesus as a model for the letters from

⁴⁴Nobili, Roberto. 1610. *Responsio ad ea, quae contra modum, quo nova Missio Madurensis utitur ad Ethnicos Christo convertendos abiecta sunt*. (Madurai, 12 ottobre, 1610). Manuscript copy in Goa 51, ff. 125–144 and Goa 51, ff. 145–161, published in Dahmen (1931).

⁴⁵Nobili, Roberto. (1613). *Informatio de quibusdam moribus nationis Indicae*. Manuscript copy in *Fondo Gesuitico* 400 I, ff. 43–83; 85–88 and *Fondo Gesuitico*, 721 II / 2, 46 ff., published and translated into English in Rajamanickam (1972); Amaladass and Clooney (2000).

⁴⁶Nobili, Roberto. (1619). *Narratio Fundamentorum quibus Madurensis Missionis institum coeptum est et hucusque consistit* published in Rajamanickam (1971).

⁴⁷Nardini (2017), (2021).

⁴⁸My analysis and quotation of *Informatio* henceforth refer to Rajamanickams edition (1972).

⁴⁹Amaladass and Clooney (2000).

the missions.⁵⁰ The *Informatio* opens with the *salutatio*, in which the author addresses his audience, formally the General of the Order, Claudio Acquaviva (“Ad Reverendum Patrem nostrum Praepositum Generalem”), and generally the prelates of the Church of India, as well as all his interlocutors who are interested in learning about Indian culture and the “nature of truth”.⁵¹ Then the work proceeds with the *captatio benevolentiae*, in which Nobili addresses his opponents directly, describing them as men of intellect and good faith, but mistaken in their judgments owing to misunderstandings the *Informatio* tries to correct.⁵² Then follows the *exordium*, in which he states the purposes of the *Informatio*: the description of the practices and customs of India on the basis of an investigation, carried out in three years of assiduous study, of “the nature of truth with a sincere soul”.⁵³ The main section is a long *narratio* (eleven chapters) devoted entirely to the description of the social groups of Madurai society with a focus on the specific character of the cultural / religious elite group, the Brahmans (Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa*).⁵⁴

The argumentative structure of the work adheres to the style of classical rhetoric characteristic of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* (the programme of studies, texts, and authors drawn on in the instruction at the Jesuit colleges).⁵⁵ The author is also obviously trained in the philological criteria of the critical and comparative analysis of sources, as he quotes authors and sources from Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, and Tamil literature to provide evidence of the veracity of the Hindu arguments. What is more, the book ends with a summary of the work in Tamil signed by 108 Brahmans.⁵⁶

The narrative development of the book is the translation and explanation of the four social classes (*varṇa*) of the Brahmanic social hierarchy: the *Brāhmaṇa* (Brahmans), *Kṣatriya* (Ksatriya), *Vaiśya* (Vaisya), and *Śūdra* (Shudra). The main section is devoted entirely to the top of the pyramid, the Brahmans, and to the translation of the main conceptual grids of Brahmanism:⁵⁷ the concepts of *jñāna* (knowledge), *Brahmā* (God), *dharma* (norms), *kārman* (actions), *Veda* (sacred scripture), and *Trimurti* (three Gods).⁵⁸

Taking the division of the society into four classes (*varṇa*) as its point of departure, Nobili’s cultural translation domesticated the cultural and religious aspects of the Tamil society into the grids of Latin Catholicism: “Indian society

⁵⁰ Županov (1999).

⁵¹ Rajamanickam (1972), p. 2.

⁵² Rajamanickam (1972), p. 2.

⁵³ Rajamanickam (1972), p. 2.

⁵⁴ Cf. Ferrara (2020).

⁵⁵ Barbera (1942).

⁵⁶ Rajamanickam (1972), p. 119.

⁵⁷ Cf. Klostermaier (2002).

⁵⁸ Cf. Tiliander (1974); Arokiasamy (1986).

is first divided into four grades of civil functions to which there corresponds a similar gradation in nobility.⁵⁹ The origin of the four classes is narrated in the famous hymn of *R̥g Veda* 10, 90 (one of the books of the *Veda*, the fundamental corpus of Hindu religious books), where the four classes originate in the dismemberment of the cosmic being Puruṣa:

11. When they divided Purusa how many portions did they make? What do they call his mouth, his arms? What do they call his thighs and feet? 12. The Brahman was his mouth, of both his arms was the Rajanya made. His thighs became the Vaisya, from his feet the Sudra was produced. 13. The Moon was gendered from his mind, and from his eye the Sun had birth; Indra and Agni from his mouth were born, and Vayu from his breath.⁶⁰

In the *Mānavadharmasāstra*⁶¹ I, 31 (traditionally the most authoritative book of Dharma-shastra, the ‘book of law’ of Brahmanic tradition), this cosmogony is reported in a different version in which the members of the four *varṇa* are emitted from the different parts of the body of *Brahmā* (God), who was born in turn from the golden embryo in which the ‘existing in itself’ (Sanskrit *Svayambhū*) is manifested to initiate creation: “31. For the growth of these worlds, moreover, he produced from his mouth, arms, thighs, and feet, the *Brahmin*, the *Ksatriya*, the *Vaisya*, and the *Sudra*.”⁶²

Nobili reported and translated this passage of *Mānavadharmasāstra*: “That is, with the intention to be useful for the collectivity which he created, (God) attributed diverse occupations to diverse castes so that some should be like the head, some the shoulders, some the thigh, some the feet.”⁶³ Nobili applied to the Hindu cosmogony the allegory promoted by the Apostle Paul:

18. But in fact, God has arranged the members of the body, every one of them, according to His design. 19. If they were all one part, where would the body be? 20. As it is, there are many parts, but one body [...] 27. Now you are the body of Christ, and each of you is a member of it. 28. And in the church God has appointed first of all apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then workers of miracles, and those with gifts of healing, helping, administration, and various tongues (1 Corinthians 12:12–28).

The missionary understood the cosmogony, as reported in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, as a kind of Catholic allegory: just as God created one body with different parts, he also assigned different professions (*officia*) to the various lineages of the same

⁵⁹“Indorum Respublica distinguitur Primo quatuor gradibus civilium munerum, atque adeo civilis nobilitatis”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 2.

⁶⁰Griffith, (1992) pp. ix–xii, 602–603.

⁶¹For the English translation of *Mānavadharmasāstra* see Olivelle (2005).

⁶²Olivelle (2005), p. 88.

⁶³“lokānām tu viṣṛddhyartham mukhabāhūrupādataḥ brāhmaṇam kṣatriyam vaiśyam śūdrāmca niravartyat (I, 31) i.e. Deus ex facie, ex humero, ex foemore, ex pedibus, Brahmanes, Reges, Mercatores, Plebeios creavit, ubi notat commentum ibi dici Mundum, ipsa hominum congregatione. sarvasyāsya tu sargasya guptyartham sa mahādyutiḥ mukhabāhūru pajjānām prthakkarmānyakalpayat (I, 87) i.e. universitati quam creabat prospiciens diversum officium, divisio stirpibus tribuit, ut quaedam veluti caput, quaedam humeri, quaedam foemur, quaedam pedes essent”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 57.

community. The *Mānavadharmasāstra* (I, 21), however, is a foundational creative act: the supreme being (*Brahmā*) is a kind of demiurge who creates all that exists from his body parts in accordance with a pre-existing sacred revelation (*Veda*): “In the beginning through the words of the *Veda* alone, he fashioned for all of them specific names and activities, as also specific conditions.”⁶⁴

An analysis of the textual / conceptual grids of the *Informatio* reveals some of the tactics⁶⁵ applied by Nobili in his translation. He transferred the elements of Brahmanism into the structure of a Latin medieval epistle, preserving the civil aspects of Brahmanic society and veiling the religious contents. Indeed, he domesticated Hindu religious conceptual grids into the Christian revelation.

8.3.1 *The Tactics of the Cultural Translation of the Brahmanic Social Hierarchy*

The first class is that of the Brahmans, which are defined by Nobili as “wise” in reference to an etymology of the term *Bṛhmate*, which Nobili links with the Sanskrit root “bṛh”, meaning ‘wisdom’⁶⁶: “The first class is that of wise people, these are called Brahmans, from the word *Bṛhmate* which means to know”⁶⁷ In the description of the Brahmans as scholars, the author does not consider the mythical origin of the figure of the Brahmans as guardians of the *Veda* (*vacah*, the sacred word), generated by the sacrifice of the Puruṣa by emanation, as described in the cosmogony of the *Rg Veda* 10, 90.⁶⁸

Having originated from the noblest part of *Brahmā*, the Brahman alone possesses the knowledge of the *Veda*, and since everything has been established on the basis of the *Veda*, only the Brahmans have the necessary authority to create every kind of norm / law (*dharmā*). It is specified in the *Mānavadharmasāstra* (I, 98–99): “A Brahman’s birth alone represents the everlasting physical frame of the Law; for, born on account of the Law, he is fit for becoming Brahman.”⁶⁹ The Brahman represents the embodiment of the norm itself (*dharmārtham*) and only he has the ability to distinguish what is moral or ethical. The sphere of law is the sphere of *dharmā*, a universal law, the norm, which holds and supports the cosmic order: “To establish distinctions among activities, moreover, he distinguished the

⁶⁴ Olivelle (2005), p. 88.

⁶⁵ As I have explained in the first paragraph, De Certeau described as tactics what individuals create for acting in an environment characterized by the strategies of power hierarchies and political institutions. Cf. De Certeau (1984).

⁶⁶ Rajamanickam (1972), p. 3.

⁶⁷ “Primus gradus est Sapientum [Sapientium], quod Brahmanes vocant a verbo ut ipsi dicunt Bṛhmte quod est Scire”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 3.

⁶⁸ Griffith (1992), pp. ix–xii, 602–603.

⁶⁹ Olivelle (2005), p. 91.

Right (*dharma*) from the Wrong (*adharmā*) and afflicted these creatures with the pairs of opposites such as pleasure and pain” (*Mānavadharmasāstra* I, 26).⁷⁰

Nobili played with the thin line between ‘civil’ and ‘religious’, in that he translated and underlined the civil and cultural aspects of Brahmanism, eulogizing the Brahmans’ intellectual knowledge and cultural supremacy. In this description, the author completely veils every religious connotation of the Brahmanic institution. Likewise to achieve conformity to the Catholic orthodoxy, he implemented his translation with the Christian revelation. In the *Informatio*, the Brahmans are the learned class of the society, the missionary’s aim is to teach them the Catholic doctrine in order to develop their knowledge.

The Brahmans elaborated a cultural system and aimed to guarantee the dominance of their class at the top of the social hierarchy. The Roman Church tried to identify and homogenize the cultural system under the narratives of its own orthodoxy. Nobili therefore retained the privileges and the characters of Brahmanism and adapted them to the master narratives of Catholic orthodoxy.

This is evident in the domestication of the conceptual grids: *dharma* with *officium*. Nobili established a dynamic equivalence of the conceptual grid of *dharma* with *officium*, selecting and transferring only the civil / cultural meanings of this concept. He differentiated between the classes concerning the *varṇadharmā* (from the *Mānavadharmasāstra*) and translated their different levels of nobility and their *official*—professions or roles in society—into Latin as “variarum stirpium officium”.⁷¹ In the *varṇadharmā*, however, *dharma* is precisely what regulates the characters and the roles of the classes and, as I previously explained, this is the religious law, the eternal norm.

The same process of domestication permeates the translation of the other groups of the society. The second class, the Ksatriya (Sanskrit *ksatriya*) is described as “that of kings or chiefs, and of royal families. They have to pursue, as primary occupations, the government of the state and the conduct of war and arms; they are called Rajas or Ksatriyas, a name derived from *Kṣatāt trāyante* which means people free from fear.”⁷² In support of his description, Nobili again quotes the *Mānavadharmasāstra* (VII, 88): “That is, not to flee in battle, to protect people, to mind the words of the wise, in these three (duties) lie crystallized the Rajas’ activity, good and excellence.”⁷³ The chapter quoted by the author ends with a reference to the ‘eternal law’ (*Mānavadharmasāstra* VII, 98) which is not

⁷⁰ Olivelle (2005), p. 88.

⁷¹ Rajamanickam (1972), p. 3.

⁷² “Secundus gradus est Regum sive Ducum, et Regiarum familiarum, ad quos aequo primario spectat gubernatio Reipublicae et bellorum armorumque tractatio, quos vacant [vocant] Rajios seu Xactrires, quasi ut ipsi explicant Kṣatāt trāyante id est a metu populos liberantes”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 3.

⁷³ “88. Refusal to turn back in battle, protecting the subjects, and obedient service to Brahmans—for kings, these are the best mean of securing happiness.” Nobili reports: “saṃgrāmeṣv anivṛttatvaṃ prajānam caiva pālanam, brahmānānaṃ ca śuśrūṣa rājñāṃ śreyaskaram param. Id est in proelio non fugere, populus servare, sapientum dicta audire tria sunt, in quibus Regiorum actio, bonum et excellentia continetur”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 3.

reported by Nobili: “98. I have set forth above the eternal law of warriors without elaboration. A Ksatriya must never deviate from this Law, as he kills his enemies in battle.”⁷⁴

The Vaisya (*Vaiśya* in Sanskrit) constitute the third social order, they are free-born merchants dedicated to commercial activity, which is an honourable occupation and useful for the prosperity of the society. Nobili quoted the *Mānavadharmasāstra* IX, 329–330: “That is: to know, deal out, appraise prices and values of precious stones, large gems, red coral-ware, metals, dyed clothing, perfumes and dainties all this pertains to the function of this class.”⁷⁵ Again passages of the *Mānavadharmasāstra* are omitted, in this case IX, 326–327, which address the religious consecration of the Vaiśya:

326. After undergoing initiatory consecration and getting married, a Vaisya should devote himself constantly to trade and to look after farm animals; 327. for, after creating them, Prajapati handed over to the Vaisya the farm animals, and to the Brahmin and the king, all creatures.⁷⁶

The author draws the description of this class from the etymology of the word *viśhati* which suggests the meaning ‘to enter’ (to advance), referring to the acquisition of goods and wealth: “The third class is that of the free-born merchants, who acquire wealth by dealing in apparel, gems, and other articles of the same quality.”⁷⁷ The lowest rank of the society is represented by the Shudra caste (Sanskrit *Śūdra*), who perform jobs considered servile: “The fourth class consists of those who are called Shudras, who are employed in such works considered as servile”.⁷⁸ Nobili derived the meaning of the term Shudra from the Sanskrit word *śocati* (to be depressed or to work under stress), meaning those who hold a position lacking civil dignity. Shudra constitutes the lineage of servants, whose role in society, as stated by the *Mānavadharmasāstra* (I, 91), would be to serve the aforementioned classes without resentment. The passage of *Mānavadharmasāstra* (I, 91), is quoted and translated into Latin in the *Informatio*: “That is: the Shudras or Plebeians have one single task, they are ungrudgingly at the service and convenience of the higher classes enumerated above”⁷⁹. In this case Nobili ignored the section of the *Mānavadharmasāstra* (IX, 334–335)

⁷⁴ Olivelle (2005), p. 159.

⁷⁵ “maṇimuktā pravālānām lohānām tāntavasya ca gandhānam ca rasānām ca vidyād alpamca balābalaṃ mānayoḡam ca jāniyat tulāyoḡam ca sarvaśaḥ id est preciosos lapillos, uniones, corallia, metalla, variam vestem, odores ipsos et saporēs, haec omnia, eorumque precia, et valores nosse, metiri, iudicare ad hunc pertinet”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 4.

⁷⁶ Olivelle (2005), p. 207.

⁷⁷ “Tertius gradus est ingenuorum mercatorum, qui nimirum contrectandae pecuniae, vestibus, gemmis et aliis eiusdem generis”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 3.

⁷⁸ “Quartus gradus est hominum servilia quae vocant officia exercentium, quos Siudreses vocant”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 4.

⁷⁹ Rajamanickam (1972), p. 4: “ekam eva tu śudrasya prabhūḥ karma samādiśat eteṣām evavarṇānām śusrūṣām anasūyayā. Id est Siudreribus sive Plebeiis illud unum officium constitutum est, in commodum Superiorium, quos enumeravimus ordinum sine invidia famulari”.

dedicated specifically to the prescriptions for the Shudra, as the norm (*dharmā*) assumes strong religious meanings, is based on the authority of the *Veda*, and promises a ‘higher birth’:

334. For the Shudra, on the other hand, the highest Law leading to bliss is simply to render obedient service to distinguished Brahmin householders who are learned in the Veda. 335. When he keeps himself pure, obediently serves the highest class, is soft-spoken and humble, and always takes refuge in Brahmins, he obtains a higher birth⁸⁰.

Everything is regulated by the *dharmā*, the universal law, but for each social rank the author highlights the specific conceptual grid of the *officium* that characterizes and distinguishes the classes.

8.3.2 *The Process of Domesticating the Brahmanic Conceptual Grids*

The domestication of the whole system of Brahmins is based on the translation of the conceptual grid of *jñāna*, which Nobile translated into Latin as *sapientia*, wisdom, as a *perfecta ratio*, intellectual capacity.⁸¹ The *finis* of the activity of every Brahman, described by Nobile, is a ‘secular’ *jñāna*, pursued by way of rational investigation. By virtue of their wisdom the Brahmins are *jñānangal*, *sapientes*, and have the necessary skills to create and control an apparatus of norms valid for the society, devoid of any religious connotation. They are said to be the holders of the civil code of law, the *dharmasāstra*, which Nobile translates into Latin as *ius gentium* (civil law).⁸²

He thus translates the term *jñāna* as the total sum of the distinctive attributes of the Brahman and refers neither to any universal or cosmogonic law nor to the Hindu principle of *karma*.⁸³ Nobile argues that the path to wisdom is a path guided by the light of the *recta ratio* and addressing the “true God” (“Deum verum contemplantur”).⁸⁴ *Jñāna*, which connotes the *summa* of the Brahmanic sciences, is a virtue of the rational mind and aims to know the one and only God (“Deum unum atque unicum”):

Furthermore, the word *jñana*, which is the appropriate word for wisdom and which is said to designate the sum total of the distinctive tasks of the brahmin, does not include any law or knowledge of the false gods of this country (by “knowledge” we mean the specific sense). It means wisdom which consists in the knowledge of the sciences or, rather, expresses the knowledge pursued through the light of the nature of all things, and

⁸⁰ Olivelle (2005), p. 207.

⁸¹ Rajamanickam (1972), p. 10.

⁸² Schiller (1978).

⁸³ Rajamanickam (1972), p. 10.

⁸⁴ Rajamanickam (1972), p. 9.

particularly of the one and only God. On the contrary, the science of laws is distinguished from *jnana*, and is denoted by the term *karmam*.⁸⁵

The author domesticated the conceptual grid of *jñāna* into the Thomistic grid of ‘knowledge’:⁸⁶ human, rational knowledge, necessary but incomplete. Only by way of the *lumen fidei*, the evangelical message the missionary himself announces, can the disciple attain complete union with God. This concept, which betrays clear Thomist derivation, is in fact explained through the direct quotation of passages I–II.3 and II–II of the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas:

I do not see how this definition differs from our Christian authors, e.g., St. Thomas in *Summa Theologiae* I–II.3 and II–II.180, and other theologians, who define the happiness of the perfect sage. In fact, they do not argue that the perfection and happiness of man in this life—where man is in a state of imperfect understanding—mainly and, as I have already said, essentially consists in the contemplation of God, while secondarily and through a preparation consists in practicing in the speculative sciences, together with the use of an intellectual practice and the practice of the moral virtues.⁸⁷

Jñāna in this work is therefore clearly purified of any religious, spiritual, or metaphysical attribute belonging to the Hindu Vedic tradition.⁸⁸ According to the Vedic revelation, *jñāna* is true knowledge, the realization and identification with the *Brahmā*. For the Vedanta school (one of the six systems of Indian philosophy),⁸⁹ *jñāna* (absolute reality) leads the Brahman to successive stages of knowledge: the first step is acquiring moral virtues by practising self-control, then the student obtains knowledge by learning, and to complete the process the Brahman scholar must master his practice to attain contemplative union with the *Brahmā*. Nobili describes the different levels of the process of coming to know God, revealing his knowledge of Vedanta philosophy. In verse I.97 of the *Mānavadharmasāstra* it is written: “Among Brahmins, the learned are the best; among the learned, those who have made the resolve; among those who have

⁸⁵ “Imo [Immo] *jnanam* quae vox proprie sapientiam significat et dicitur esse summa officii Brahmanis non includit leges, neque notitiam horum falsorum deorum (cum propriae accipitur), sed significat sapientiam quae consistit in scientiis seu potius notitiam luminis naturae circa omnia et praecipue circa Deum unum atque unicum; scientiam vero legum contradistingunt a *jñāna* et vocant *karmam*”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 10.

⁸⁶ Aquinas (1956).

⁸⁷ “In qua definitione non video quid desit ex iis quibus Auctores Christiani nostri et Divus Thomas I–II quaestione 3, et II–II questione 180 aliique Theologi constituunt felicitatem perfecti sapientis, cum aiunt perfectionem et felicitatem hominis in hac vita, ut est imperfecte comprehensor primario et quasi essentialiter consistere in contemplatione Dei, secundario et dispositive, in usu scientiarum speculativarum et in ratione practici intellectus, et demum in usu moralium virtutum, quae quatuor in allata definitione perfecti Brahmanis diserte explicantur”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 9.

⁸⁸ Cf. Pechelis (2014).

⁸⁹ Klostermaier (2002).

made the resolve, the doers; and among doers, the Vedic savants”⁹⁰ which Nobili translates as:

That is: among the brahmins those who are reputed to excel and to be perfect are those who are truly wise and competent in the field of science, among the scientists, those who, to other intellectual achievements, add a thorough knowledge of ways of acting with righteousness or prudence, among these, for example, who actually behave virtuously, finally, those who are dedicated to the contemplation of the true God are perfect.⁹¹

In this case, the translation is based on the domestication of the *Brahmā* as the ‘true God’, as described in the first chapter of the *Mānavadharmasāstra* (I, 5–9):

There was this world—pitch-dark, indiscernible, without distinguishing marks, unthinkable, incomprehensible, in a kind of deep sleep all over. Then the Self-existent Lord appeared—the Unmanifest manifesting this world beginning with the elements, projecting his might, and dispelling the darkness. That One—who is beyond the range of senses; who cannot be grasped; who is subtle, unmanifest, and eternal; who contains all beings; and who transcends thought—it is he who shone forth on his own. As he focused his thought with the desire of bringing forth diverse creatures from his own body, it was the waters that he first brought forth; and into them he poured forth his semen. That became a golden egg, as bright as the sun; and in it he himself took birth as Brahmā, the grandfather of all the worlds.⁹²

In the *Informatio* the resulting description is: “The word Brahma with the short final syllable does not signify any limited and false God, but God in the most comprehensive sense and it denotes the true unique and immaterial God who can be known by the light of natural reason”.⁹³

Here the word ‘brahma’ is used in the neutral form to indicate God the creator, the personification of the divine creative power. With the formula “Deus unus atque unicus”,⁹⁴ Nobili evokes the divine grasped by the human intellect in its full faculties, the God to which *jñāna*, rational human knowledge, tends. This is the God of the Christian revelation. Nobili thus domesticates another pillar of Brahmanism, the conceptual grid of God (Sanskrit *Brahmā*), into the Christian concept.

In the process of domestication, Nobili presents the Catholic doctrine as a refinement, as the perfection and conclusion of the Brahman’s knowledge, the last level of knowledge attainable only by the *lumen fidei* and the Christian revelation. The Brahmanic science, however high, remained relegated to the scientific-rational

⁹⁰ Olivelle (2005), p. 91.

⁹¹ “Id est inter Brahmanes ii dicendi sunt excellere et esse perfecti qui vere sapientes sunt et scientias callent, inter scientes ii qui addunt scientiam agendi cum virtute seu prudentia, inter hos ii qui reipsa agunt cum virtute, inter agentes cum virtute ii perfecti sunt qui Deum verum contemplantur”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 9.

⁹² Olivelle (2005), p. 87.

⁹³ “Haec enim vox Brahma ultima brevi non significat deum aliquem determinatum et falsum sed Deum in communi, et usu fere applicatur etiam ad significandum illum verum Deum unicum et immaterialem qui lumine naturae cognosci potest”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 9.

⁹⁴ Rajamanickam (1972), p. 9.

level, to the *recta ratio*; only by way of the Christian revelation could anyone reach the union with divinity (the biblical God, the creator).

Nobili addresses his teaching of Catholic doctrine and Christian revelation to a special group of Brahmans he referred to as “Gnanis” (Sanskrit *Jñāni*). He distinguished the *Jñāni*, which he considered a monotheistic and spiritual group, from other sects considered atheists and idolaters. He described idolaters as too corrupt and decadent to officiate sacrifices and deal with the ‘laws of the gods’ (*karma*): “On the contrary, the science of laws is distinguished from jnana, and is denoted by the term ‘karmam’”.⁹⁵ The translation of the conceptual grid of *karma* is a formal equivalence, and thus radically foreignized into Brahmanic religiosity. In this way *karma*, translated as ‘the science of laws’ is considered the science of idolaters, the degeneration and disorientation of a particular group of Brahmans. It is against this sect that Nobili hurls the harshest criticisms.

Nobili addressed his preaching to the group of the *Jñāni*, whom he defined as wise Brahmans, the experts on Vedanta. Nobili presents Vedanta philosophy as the culminating point (*finis*) of a scientific investigation. It is known that the term Vedanta (understood as Vedanta philosophy), which should be translated ‘finis Vedae’, rather represents the culminating point of Vedic exegesis, and the *Vedas*, as the source of sacred authority, is the end of Vedanta philosophical research.⁹⁶ Here Nobili concealed the Vedic revelation on which the Vedanta school is based: “Their theology is called Vedanta, which means the end of the science.”⁹⁷ Nobili instead classifies the *Vedas* as the texts of the law of the *Māyāvādīs*,⁹⁸ the idolaters:

I have omitted to provide a precise numbering of the sections and topics of these collections of laws, because they will hardly serve my purpose and because the contents lack order and definition. Moreover, since they deal with almost everything possible, they

⁹⁵ “scientiam vero legum contradistingunt a jñānam et vocant karmam”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 10. The author mentioned also a third sect, “Secta Atheorum”, which he described as Buddhist. He does not dwell on the characteristics of the Buddhist school for two main reasons: it is the most ancient sect and distinct from Brahmanism; furthermore he considers the theories of this school to be erroneous.

⁹⁶ Torella (2008).

⁹⁷ “Istorum theologia Vedanta nominatur cuius vocis significatio est finis scientiae”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 30.

⁹⁸ The third sect, that of the idolaters, is in turn divided into four different schools: 1) the supporters of Maya, Maiavadae (Sanskrit *Māyāvādī*), who consider Braumma (Brahmā), Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu), and Rudhren (Rudra), respectively, as creator, governor, and destroyer of the world; 2) the sect of the Xaiva (Sanskrit *Śaiva*), worshipers of Rudhren (Rudra), the ancient name of Śiva, who considers the other two gods to be minor forms of the aforementioned divinity; 3) the Vaisnuva (Sanskrit *Vaiṣṇava*), who recognize in Viṣṇu the supreme divinity by assigning to the other two the rank attributed to Brahmā and to Viṣṇu himself by the Śaivas; 4) those who attribute supremacy to Viṣṇu alone, the Tadvavadarum (Sanskrit *Tattvavāda*), who differ on some points from other worshipers of Vishnu.

are little more than a messy jumble of various opinions that deal partly with topics on divinity, partly on human beings, a mixture where civil and religious precepts are mixed together.⁹⁹

With these words he dismisses the study of *Veda*, the fundamental texts of ancient Brahmanism, but he domesticated some other books of Hindu literature into the Catholic grids. For example, he quotes some passages from the *Āraṇyaka*¹⁰⁰ (Sanskrit Hindu religious books) in which Brahmā is described as “good by his very nature” (“ritam tva bhagah”), “infinite understanding” (“jnanam anantam brahma”), and “spiritual form” (“akasha shariram brahma”), and assimilates these attributes into the God of Christian theology.¹⁰¹

Nobili’s process of domestication is completed. He retained the structure of Brahmanism but filled it with Catholic contents; he theorized the God (Brahmā) of the Brahmans as the ultimate truth while at the same time explaining how this term would represent the Christian God, hitherto never attained by Brahmans:

You are God (note that the term brahma with the short final syllable is the most commonly used name for God; and it is different from brahma with the long syllable, which indicates one of the three false gods I mentioned earlier. In this text, on the contrary, the term used is always brahma with a short final syllable, because it refers to God in a true and absolute sense).¹⁰²

For example, he underscored the reference to the Holy Trinity (*Sanctissima Trinitatis*) in the Sanskrit literature (*Taittirīya Upaniṣad* II), showing that Catholic theology is contained in some of Brahmanic literature and philosophy but never understood by Brahmans:

But, what is even more surprising, I also discovered in these texts an allusion to the hidden mystery of the Holy Trinity, the most merciful and exalted God who undoubtedly granted even on these distant lands some hints to the innermost secrets of our faith through the teaching Of some sage living among these people, in the same way that a mysterious inspiration has enlightened the Sybils, Trismagistus, and certain other masters of human wisdom in our part of the globe.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ “Harum legum partes et materias ex composito non numero, tum quia parum ad rem faciunt, tum quia leges hae neque ordinem continent, neque certam materiam cum fere de omnibus rebus agant, nihilque aliud sint quam tumultuaria quaedam congestio variarum sententiarum partim ad divina, partim ad humana pertinentium, et tum sacrorum, tum civilium praeceptorum”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 34.

¹⁰⁰ Klostermaier (2002).

¹⁰¹ “tvam eva pratyakāṣam Brahma vadiṣyāmi, i.e. Tu, inquam Deus et ipsa claritas, te Deum dico ipsam claritatem, verum te dico, veritatem te dico”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 35.

¹⁰² “Deus Brahmā enim ultima brevi est nomen Dei communissimum, et differt a Brahmā ultima longa quod est nomen unius ex tribus illis falsis diis de quibus supra, hic autem semper est Brahma ultima brevi quia est sermo de Deo simpliciter et vere sumpto”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 34.

¹⁰³ “ipsum misterium reconditum Sanctissimae Trinitatis expressum video permittente sine dubbio Deo optimo maximo etiam his ultimis terris adumbrationem aliquam abditissimi nostrae fidei arcani per os alicuius qui inter ipsos viveret sapientis non secus atque in nostro orbe Sybillas, Trismagistum et alios quosdam humanae sapientiae magistros illapsu secretiore

Nobili finds in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* II¹⁰⁴ the allusion to the “hidden mystery of the sacred trinity”; the text reads as follows:

That is: The true person is within his spirit nature; in him is one who is equally spirit, existing through an act of the will; he who exists through the mouth (i.e. the word) and is held close to the breast of this person (i.e. as a son), this person is at the same time Lord and cause of things.¹⁰⁵

The missionary’s role is necessary to correct the deviance of idolaters from true precepts, dissuade them from observing the rules that go by the name of *karman* (*scientia legum*), improving and developing the knowledge of Brahmans (*Jñāni*), and teaching them the new message of the Christian revelation.

8.4 Conclusions

This analysis helps us gain an understanding of the elements of the translation process (actors, factors, policies, and politics), and thus insights into the historical scenario of the Madurai mission: the social structure, actors, and characters addressed by the *Informatio*. In fact, by way of this analysis we can state that the translation is characterized by a collection of dynamic equivalences, which means that the translation centres on the target context, and thus predominantly reveals the characters and elements of that context. As we have seen, the *Informatio* formally addresses the General Father of the Society of Jesus and explicitly the Catholic Church of India. As the author explains, it also targets all the men concerned about the ‘salvation of the soul’, the Latin audience in general, and the curia in Rome. The analysis of the textual grids reveals that the book adheres to the medieval epistolary pattern. Nobili thus reclaims the Jesuit tradition, in which the reports were written for publication and a large audience. Furthermore, as the textual grids shows, it contains a summary in Tamil addressing the Brahmans of the Madurai mission. The target, or social structure, of the translation therefore involved the following actors: the General Curia of the Society of Jesus, the Church of India, the prelates of the Latin church, the Latin audience in general, and the Brahmans of Madurai.

The collection of textual and conceptual grids displays the translation policies (social, linguistic, economic, and geographic rules). The textual grids shed light on the literary patterns characterizing the translation: the Jesuit epistolary model

permissit”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 35. More information about the concept of Trinity in Nobili’s translation in Amaladass (2017).

¹⁰⁴ Klostermaier (2002).

¹⁰⁵ “sa ya eṣontara hṛdayākāṣaḥ, tasmin ayam puruṣo manomayaḥ antareṇa tāluke ya yeṣa stana ivava lambate sendra yoniḥ, i.e., ipse est intus in sua natura spiritus, in ipso est qui est ipsemet spiritus ex voluntate existens, et ex medio oris qui existit (id est verbum) ipsius est ad ubera pendens (i.e. Filius) ipse simul est Dominus, et rerum causa”, Rajamanickam (1972), p. 35.

and Latin medieval *dictamen*. The translation process is based on an erudite register. The *Informatio* is written deliberately for an erudite and intellectual audience (unlike the demotic style of *Ñāna Upadēsam*¹⁰⁶). There are numerous quotations of classical Latin and Greek authors (Seneca, Eusebius of Caesarea, Cicero) and many references to Thomistic theology, as well as passages from the Gospel (mostly from the epistles of Paul). The *Informatio* reflects the cultural background of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*: scholastic theology, rhetoric, dialectic argumentation, accommodation. There are numerous quotations from Sanskrit literature (mainly founding texts of Brahmanism such as the *Mānavadharmasāstra* and the *Āpastamba dharmasūtra*) but also the *Vedas*, *Āraṇyaka*, *Upaniṣad*, *Purāṇa*, and Tamil literature (*Civañāna Cittiyar*). In particular, many conceptual grids refer to three different Hindu philosophical systems (the Śaiva, Vedanta, and Nyāya).¹⁰⁷ With the aid of the conceptual grids, we focused on the thematic elements of the argumentation: the social structure of the Madurai context, Brahmanism as a cultural elite, and the overlap of Christian revelation and Brahmanic science.

This in turn reveals the tactics (De Certeau) of the translation: to translate the cultural values of Brahmanism, covering all its religious aspects. The *Informatio* moreover takes into account some of the epistolary themes prescribed by Ignatius of Loyola (the founder of the Society of Jesus):¹⁰⁸ the collection of information about the local context for the foreign audience, proselytism, and ministry. The *Informatio* is indeed a narrative ethnographic description; it reports the elements and practices of Brahmanic society translated for the Latin audience. From another perspective, the *Informatio* is an explanation of the missionary strategy aimed at evangelization and proselytism.

With my analysis I expose the influence of the main actor of the translation: the spiritual aspirations of the missionary / translator. Each missionary experience is marked by the complex personality of the respective missionary, their individual biography, emotional life, and personal attitudes as well as missionary styles, religious devotion, and fervour: missionaries were intellectuals, soldiers, politicians, merchants, scientists, doctors, artists, et cetera. Furthermore, they pursued self-cultivation for the purpose of spiritual development after the manner of the *Imitatio Christi*, which aspires towards a glorious martyrdom and the salvation of the soul. In this context Roberto Nobili presents himself as a Roman scholar: he displays his cultural background in Latin studies at the Jesuit college and addresses his work to the intellectuals of the Catholic church and the Tamil context. He also performs the role of the missionary apostle between ‘gentiles’ as described by the Pauline epistolary.

Interpreting the analysis results through the lens of ‘domestication / foreignization’ provides a perspective on how the translation process is influenced

¹⁰⁶ Nardini (2017).

¹⁰⁷ Torella (2008).

¹⁰⁸ Županov (1999), pp. 6–7.

by the politics of translation—the political negotiation of concepts and meanings and—how every translation deals with the tension between embedded political asymmetries.¹⁰⁹ The *Informatio* is deeply characterized by the negotiation of concepts and practices between the Catholic power hierarchies (the Jesuits, the Church of India, and the curia in Rome) and the cultural elites of the Tamil community. The translator invests his efforts in the negotiation between the Jesuits' textual and cultural grids (epistolary patterns, theology, missionary method of accommodation to the local context, and the establishment of a dialogue with the local cultural elite), the political dynamics of the Catholic Church (the governance of a faraway land, the narratives of orthodoxy, and the cultural / ethnographical interests of the curia in Rome), and the political / cultural power of Brahmanism (the retention of religious power, knowledge, and literature).

Located at a great geographical distance from Rome and the local Church in Goa, to which they were connected only by difficult epistolary communication, the Jesuit missions in South India were highly autonomous and independent. At the core of the Jesuit missionary work, however, there was the *ratio studiorum*, the *metodus*, a strategy of accommodation as a competence for adapting oneself to the local context. At the same time, the missionary approach reflects the tendency of Christianity to centre on the uniqueness, exclusivity, and superiority of the religion, as well as the Roman liturgy, concepts, and practices. Yet evangelization cannot be conceived of merely as a top-down process, but rather as a negotiation¹¹⁰ of practices and beliefs that involves all the actors in the process of translating and conveying the reciprocal cultural codes and meanings. The local agencies take part in the process of translation. As we have seen, the translation preserves the Brahmanic system in the attempt to attain the favour of and inclusion in the local power hierarchies.

This structure reveals crucial information about the Catholic Church of India, which is characterized by the Latin *ethos* (language, literature, theology) and deeply involved in the questions of orthodoxy. The translation shows the linguistic distance between the Madurai Tamil and the Sanskrit context on the one hand, and the Catholic Church in Goa and in Rome as a Latin audience on the other. The analysis exposes some features of the Roman Church in the post-Tridentine period: the translation focused on Catholic orthodoxy, on the necessity of conveying the Catholic dogma and maintaining conformity to it. Yet the translation also manifests the symptoms of the distance and the difficult communication between the Church and the missions. It is interesting to trace the discrepancies between the Tridentine conciliar decrees for the homogenization and capillary organization of the church and the needs and transcultural features of the missionary context—Madurai, for example—as described by Nobili in the *Informatio*.

¹⁰⁹Cf. Schrader-Kniffki et al. in this volume (see Chap. 4).

¹¹⁰Burke (2009), p. 9.

In the comparison of two of Nobili's translations—the *Informatio*, an early product of his writings, and the *Ñāna Upadēsam* ('The Teaching of [Religious] Knowledge'), his Tamil compendium for teaching Catholic doctrine¹¹¹—, it is interesting to note the progress of the translation strategy. The *Ñāna Upadēsam*, which was written at the end of his missionary life, is directed towards a vast and stratified audience and is not just a book for intellectuals, theologians, and Brahmins as is the *Informatio*. The *Ñāna Upadēsam* addresses the different groups of Madurai society (intellectuals, religious experts, fishermen, farmers, warriors, and kings). We can thus assume that, at the beginning of his missionary life, Nobili (and accordingly his writings) was (were) strictly connected with the Latin and Jesuit context: he adopted Latin narratives and literary genres, adhered to the Jesuit method of evangelization targeting the cultural elite of the society, and was compelled to address himself to questions of orthodoxy. Madurai, however, was not a Brahman-centred society (like, for example, the main sites in central and north India), but a *Nāyaka* kingdom. *Nāyaka* kings were warriors, cultivators, and affiliated with merchant groups. In his late writings such as the *Ñāna Upadēsam*, Nobili therefore tried to connect and domesticate his teaching to the fluidity and the existential modes demanded by the ethos of the Madurai *Nāyakas*. We can thus conceive of the translation of Brahmanism and the social hierarchies of Madurai as the translucence of Brahmanism and the transcultural context of Madurai.

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¹¹¹Nardini (2021).

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Kapitel 9

Translation Policies, Material Book Culture and the *Contempt for the World* in the Early Jesuit Mission in Japan



Katja Triplett

9.1 Introduction

The East Asian Catholic mission in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is a prime example of a form of globalization that was systematically planned by policymakers tied in one way or another to the Catholic Church.¹ These globalizing efforts involved both linguistic and cultural translation. Indeed, the two cannot meaningfully be separated. Despite the sometimes highly strategic translation policies employed by Catholic missions, no instance of translation remained entirely unidirectional, that is, from source to target culture. Forms of translation in both source and target cultures evolved dynamically as a result of individuals' personal encounters, both in relation to the missions, and in relation to international trade. Such dynamic translational processes resulted in a third, shared space that was the locus of new and unique cultural phenomena. The cultural phenomenon in question is the emergence of a (short-lived) Japanese Catholic book culture which was the result of cultural translation in the context of the linguistic translation of Christian works. Although the Christianization of Japan ultimately failed, Japanese printing culture was influenced by the solutions provided by the Jesuits and their teams who were involved in preparing the books and works for printing. Translation culture is complex. It is more than the content

¹The mission has been assessed differently in modern academia, see e. g. Casanova (2016) with regard to connectivity; Ditchfield (2007) and (2010), who advocates decentering the Catholic reformation, and Eire (2007) on the role of translation.

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of the translated text and the negotiations and policies of the translators, cultural brokers and other social agents. Translation culture also involves various media such as the writing system, the translations' production methods and the resulting material forms of the linguistic translations, even though these aspects are often sidelined in academic studies. Mediality and materiality in missionary translation are important cultural filters that can significantly obstruct or facilitate the translation process.

The chapter discusses some aspects of mediality and materiality in the translation activity of Japanese Jesuit mission: (a) choosing and creating an appropriate "alphabet", and (b) working with an imported European letterpress. The intense engagement with writing and printing was connected with the early Jesuits' discovery that the acceptance of the Christian creed depended on providing a scholarly Christian culture as sophisticated as—or even possibly surpassing—traditional Japanese scholarship. The Japanese possessed a highly developed book culture and professed learnedness in all areas of life. Especially challenging for the missionaries was the Japanese' use of an elaborate and complex writing system. While all early European missions were deeply concerned with the translation of Christian texts into the local languages, the Japanese case differs in that the Europeans engaged with a learned, scriptural culture and a well organised state that resisted successfully and with much conviction colonization.² Moreover, the leading religion in Japan, Mahāyāna Buddhism, was a monastic creed that had been introduced nearly one-thousand years before the advent of the first Jesuits in Japan. Mahāyāna Buddhism was a religion that had been firmly established and fully incorporated into Japanese culture and society. The Jesuits, therefore, encountered a formidable competition to their missionary project in Japan. The decisions leading to the production of a 'Christian book' such as the choice of scripts, linguistic orientation and printing technology were thus particularly influential cultural filters in early Jesuit translation culture in Japan.

In the case of the Jesuit mission in Japan, the translation process also resulted—unintentionally—in new religious phenomena. The emergence of new cultural and religious phenomena is, for the most part, the result of both the search for equivalents and the focus on differences, in short, of comparison. While the operation of comparison is at work during cultural transfer, it, of course, can never be devoid of strategic decisions, neglect, errors, insensitivity or misunderstanding on the part of the social actors. Looking at the role of book printing and the material textual culture in addition to the production of the translations and their outcomes in the early missionary context in Japan necessarily implies a comparative perspective on the part of the researcher. This perspective does not pass judgement on whether translation policies were appropriate or not but

²For missionary translation policies in a region colonized by European powers, see Schrader-Kniffki et al. in this volume (see Chap. 4). For a discussion of the cultural translation of indigenous ideas on human society, centering on an early Jesuit missionary, see Nardini in this volume (see Chap. 8).

considers how those involved in translating regarded book printing as suitable or useful for what they intended to achieve and how they approached translation via various policies. Historian Michel Espagne states that when comparison merely entails charting out hierarchies and path-dependencies that see the source culture as higher and the target culture as a mere copy, such comparison has to be relativized in the social sciences and the humanities.³ The present chapter explores how the individuals and institutions involved made comparisons in their efforts to make Catholic Christianity the world's religion. In this way, the global history of religions can be studied as part of a 'comparative history of comparison', as the historian of religion Christoph Kleine observes.⁴

Japanese Jesuit prints bear witness to early attempts at translating both well-known and newly composed texts for the Catholic mission in Japan. The Jesuits followed various translation policies for their missionary project during the so-called 'Christian century' (1549–c. 1639)⁵ in Japan. They relied mainly on the distribution of their texts in the form of printed books, as they recognized the importance of the medium of the book in Japan, and experimented with printing various scripts to represent the Japanese language. Natalia Maillard Álvarez provides important insights into the role of books in early modern Catholicism.⁶ She particularly addresses the desire for control over books. Indeed, the Jesuits and their teams in Japan pursued the goal of creating a veritable Catholic literature in Japanese. To this end, it was important to them to strictly control the importation of books from Europe in order to prevent the spread of "dangerous and heretical opinions." Their aim was to transmit only legitimate teaching after censorship and "purification".⁷ The same rationale was applied to the selection of works to be translated into Japanese with 'neutral', i. e. non-religious, Japanese works being selected for teaching Japanese to European missionaries. The thinking behind this was that it would prevent Europeans from coming into contact with 'heathen' teachings and thus being compromised.

There are many modern academic approaches to mediality and materiality of Catholic book culture. Among the studies that focus on the materiality of the book culture and the Japanese Jesuit mission press is a paper by Mia Mochizuki.⁸ Mochizuki explores the agency of printed books and other printed products of the letterpress that the Jesuits introduced to Japan, by applying the approaches of Arjun Appadurai and Bruno Latour regarding self-generated social networks

³ See Espagne (2013), pp. 1–2.

⁴ Kleine (2019), p. 3.

⁵ This term was coined by Charles Boxer (1951). The term 'Iberian period' is also used in modern studies. In Japan, the period is often referred to as *Nanban jidai* 南蛮時代, 'the age of the Southern barbarians', because the Portuguese arrived from the 'South', i.e. their Asian colonies or trading posts, during this period.

⁶ Álvarez (2014).

⁷ Valignano, quoted in Farge (2009), p. 85.

⁸ Mochizuki (2014).

of material objects. She places the book printing press at the center of her considerations. Mochizuki's focus is on the European printing press in Japan and its print products—beyond the underlying aspirations of the people and institutions involved. Her study encourages us to investigate the objects in their materiality and mediality. She addresses the illustrations on the title pages of Japanese Jesuit prints as an expression of a “mimetic desire”, as imitations in the service of mission⁹, but the pictures and the book design themselves are less of a priority for her.¹⁰ Sociologist Filipe Carreira da Silva follows a similar approach to the book and highlights the book as both an object and a subject. Carreira da Silva applies a pragmatic approach to books as sociological objects by which he means an approach that “affirms that no text exists outside of the materialities that propose it to its readers or listeners, as opposed to a Platonist perspective which postulates that a work transcends all of its possible material incarnations.” He wants to explore “the social lives of things in order to better understand how people operate” because, in his view, “meaning is produced in a process of mutual constitution between people and the world around them, including physical objects”.¹¹

This chapter follows the book as a transcultural material product created by a large group of people. It considers the period between the end of the sixteenth century and about 1620, and investigates a particular case: the *Contemptus mundi*, or ‘Contempt for the World’—a popular devotional work compiled by Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471), but ascribed to Jean Gerson (c. 1362/3–1429) at the time of the early Japanese mission. The following section explores aspects of Catholic book culture and discusses the cultural filters of mediality and materiality that controlled the selection of the texts to be translated such that core Catholic teachings could be presented as printed books. After exploring the logistics of how the Jesuits brought a printing press to Japan, the chapter considers scripts and alphabets, and then linguistic matters that were of major concern in the translational work of the early Japanese Jesuit mission. Missionary letters and reports about translation policies, censorship and cultural accommodation are analysed. In the final section, two different *Contemptus mundi* translations (1596, 1610) will be analysed as a case study. Only three prints of the 1596 version of the translation of *Contemptus mundi* survived, and there is just one extant print of the

⁹Mochizuki (2014), p. 123.

¹⁰Susanne Lang (2012) presented a comprehensive art-historical study of Jesuit-illustrated mission reports. Lang not only presents the reports and their illustrations, but also investigates the authors and their networks involved in book production. The role of art, but less of book art, in the Asian Jesuit mission has also received attention, for example in the monograph by Gauvin Bailey (1999), on Japan: pp. 52–81, the anthology by John W. O’Malley, S.J. et al. ([1999] 2006), as well as in articles by Michael Cooper e.g. (1996) esp. pp. 30–45, Clement Onn (2016) and Antoni Ucerler (2018), p. 320. The global exchange of “earthly goods” via the networks of Portuguese Jesuits was the subject of a museum exhibition: Weston and McMullen Museum of Art (2013).

¹¹Carreira Da Silva (2016), p. 1186.

1610 revised and abridged version. Prints from the early Japanese Jesuit mission with religious content are rare today because of the persecution of Christians and the associated destruction of Christian books and other materials. The surviving prints and print fragments of the religious texts are nevertheless able to give an impression of the Jesuits' translation work, and their networks, and provide a rare window on the dynamism of Jesuit translation in this early period.

9.2 Translation Policies: Choosing the Printed Book

By the start of the Jesuit mission in Japan with the activities of Francis de Xavier (1506–1552) in the second half of the sixteenth century, the printed book was already playing a central role as a medium in the Counter-Revolutionary mission in Europe. When Francis de Xavier landed in Japan at Ignatius de Loyola's (1491–1556) behest in 1549, he had already learned from a Japanese informant in the Portuguese trade settlement in Macao (China) and described to his colleagues back in Europe how the book played an important role in scholarship and religion in Japan as it did in Europe. In a report, he complained about the lack of formal education of his Japanese informant, Paul (Anjirō) (dates unknown), stating that

since he does not understand the language in which the *ley*¹² is written, which his countrymen possess written in books, and which corresponds to our Latin, he is also unable to give us complete information about that *ley* as it appears in their printed books.¹³

The missionary also reported how awed one of the local rulers was when he was shown a beautifully illuminated bible and a bible commentary and how he made compliments about these books as media for the Christian “law”.¹⁴

The printed book in Europe allowed an increasing circle of readers to study by themselves and contemplate the teachings of medieval authors such as the Augustinian monk Thomas à Kempis and his *De Imitatione Christi* (‘About the Imitation of Christ’, autograph manuscript dated 1441), a work that had been translated into Japanese by about 1587. The fact that spiritual edification through reading a book had become a cultural technique in Europe can be gleaned from the cover picture of the 1617 Antwerp edition of *De Imitatione Christi*. The cover picture demonstrates the way the book was meant to be enjoyed: The copper engraving shows the author, Thomas à Kempis, kneeling in devotion in front of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child. In front of the author's knees lies an open book with his personal motto: “In Omnibus Requiem quaesivi, et numquam inveni nisi / in een Hoecken met een Boecken”, ‘I seek peace in everything, but cannot find it anywhere except in a nook with a book’ (Fig. 9.1).

¹²“Ley”: ‘law’, i.e. the Buddhist teachings.

¹³Schurhammer and Wicki (1944/45), vol. 2, p. 39, quote adapted; *emphasis* as in the original quote.

¹⁴See App (1997), p. 54.



Fig. 9.1 Thomas à Kempis, *De Imitatione Christi*. Antwerpen: Ex Officina Plantiniana, 1617. Bridwell Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas

In the background, a reader sits alone and secluded in a cave or vault and reads a book, presumably the *De Imitatione Christi*. The devotional work, which the monk composed in Latin between 1418 and 1427, was printed not too long after, in around 1488.¹⁵ This early date in the development of European book printing shows how cherished the work was at the time. By the time the 1617 edition was published, the book had already established itself as the most popular and widely read Christian devotional work.

Like many of his contemporaries, Ignatius de Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, was deeply attracted to the instructions for Christian discipleship found in the *De Imitatione Christi*, and created his spiritual exercises on the basis of these instructions. Francis de Xavier, the founder of the Jesuit mission to Japan, was one of his companions with whom he practiced these exercises. In the Iberian world, the work became known under the title *Contemptus mundi*, ‘Contempt for the World’, and appeared on a 1554 list of items in Portuguese that Father Melchior Nunez Barreto (c. 1520–1571), his brethren and five orphan boys took from India to Japan where they disembarked in the summer of 1556.¹⁶ The list of books gives a sense of the first Jesuit library in Japan that Jesús López Gay, S.J. reconstructed from this much-noted source (1959/1960). On the book list are also

¹⁵For outlines of the Imitation Christi literature, see e. g. von Habsburg (2011) and Kubsch (2018).

¹⁶The list contains presents to various dignitaries the Jesuits planned to visit, clothes, devotional items and books, some personally owned by the missionaries. Wicki (1948), vol. 3, pp. 197–205.

‘works by Thomas à Kempis’, “As obras de Tomás de Kempis”¹⁷ and “Jersão”, i. e. Jean Gerson. As *De Imitatione Christi* was attributed to the French theologian Gerson at the time, López Gay assumes that the *Contemptus mundi* and the “Jersão” in the list are one and the same work. The reason for ascribing the work to Gerson ultimately goes back to the first edition of Gerson’s collected works, published in Cologne in 1483, in which the book appeared as his.¹⁸ In 1496, a Castilian edition under the title *Tratado de contemptus mundi* was also attributed to Gerson. The work was henceforth known under this title among Spanish and Portuguese speakers. According to López Gay, the Jesuit missionaries probably brought the edition prepared by Luis de Granada (1504–1588) to Japan. The Dominican monk published his translation, a work characterized by its ease of understanding¹⁹, in 1536, not long before the Jesuits first set sail for Japan. The Jesuit scholar Josef Wicki suggested that the *Contemptus mundi* mentioned in the list was Luis de Granada’s translation, printed in Lisbon by Germão Galharde in 1542.²⁰ It seems that this edition circulated widely in Portugal and its colonies (Fig. 9.2).²¹

From the above, we can conclude that the ‘works by Thomas à Kempis’ cannot have been the *De Imitatione Christi / Contemptus mundi* as it was thought to have been written by Jean Gerson, but other spiritual works by the Augustinian monk whom the Jesuits appreciated because of his affinity for interiority and a devotional life. His works were part of the roughly one hundred volumes that made the journey from the Portuguese trading port in Goa to Japan where they became part of the first library of European books for the mission.

Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) became the new organizer and superior of the Jesuit missions in the Middle and Far East after the death of Francis de Xavier. As Jesuit visitator Valignano requested that more books be shipped to Japan. It was also Valignano who urged the authorities in Rome to establish a printshop in Japan with the latest European technology and to print books for the mission. A printing press arrived at the Jesuit seminary in Goa in 1588, and was subsequently shipped to Macao, before arriving in Japan in 1590, almost 40 years after the Japan mission was established there. The press was imported from Portugal by a Jesuit delegation. Among the members of the delegation was a group of four Japanese men from the Tenshō embassy who had been sent to Europe eight years before, in 1582, to visit the Pope and various European dignitaries in order

¹⁷ Wicki (1948), vol. 2, p. 203.

¹⁸ See López Gay (1959/1960), pp. 372–374.

¹⁹ Oiffer-Bomsel (2014).

²⁰ See Wicki (1948), vol. 2, p. 201, n. 24. The short-title catalogue Iberian Books, Wilkinson (2010), lists the edition as IB 3708. According to the online database Iberian Books, one copy is held at the General Library of the University of Coimbra, Portugal and once belonged to a Carmelite convent, another copy, published in 1542, is at the Real Academy of History in Madrid. Accessed: 13 March 2021.

²¹ See López Gay (1959/1960), p. 373.



Fig. 9.2 Granada, Luis de (transl.). 1542. *Contemptus mundi nueuamente romançado*. Lixbona [Lisbon]: Germão Galharde. Real Academia de la Historia Espania, 4/3152(1)

to foster good relations with the foreign powers. Two of the young men were representing influential Christian samurai families from the island of Kyushu; the other two went along as their companions. Valignano, who could not accompany the embassy in 1582 as originally intended and remained in Asia, made sure that the first texts for the Japan mission were printed in Goa and Macao where the delegation stayed on their return journey to Japan. After the press finally arrived in Japan, it was used there until 1614. After the expulsion of Christians from Japan, the press and other printing equipment were brought back to Macao and continued to print for the Jesuit mission after some years. It was hoped that a grammar and

introduction to the Japanese language, printed there in 1620, would be of use to future missionaries.²²

9.3 Choosing a Script for the Missionary Prints

During the Jesuit mission's translation project prior to printing, Valignano and his team were particularly aware of the problem of the complex writing system used in Japan, in addition to the problems they had with the Japanese language itself. The Jesuits not only wanted to produce appealing Japanese translations of key Christian texts but also intended to print them in large numbers and distribute them free of charge—a major undertaking that was complicated by an increasingly hostile environment for the Christian mission in a Japan, devastated in some regions by an ongoing war between factions of local rulers.

A Latin-Chinese alphabet for representing the Japanese language, printed in Macao in 1585 under the supervision of Valignano, presumably using a woodblock since the letterpress had still not arrived from Portugal, serves as an early example of the experimental translation policies of the Jesuit mission in Japan. The alphabet was probably the mission's first printed product intended for Japan, according to Laures.²³

9.3.1 *A First Attempt*

Valignano wrote in a letter to the General of his order (Goa, January 14, 1586) that

[w]ith this letter I am sending an Abecedario which was made in China with the intention to see whether we could print there Latin books to be used in Japan; for it is impossible and immensely expensive to get them from Portugal. Hence we have printed this page which gives us hope that we can turn out all we need here. Together with our (Latin) Abecedario another one in the Chinese language was printed and so I thought it would be interesting and give Your Paternity and perhaps His Holiness also pleasure to see it.²⁴

²²The relocation of the European printing press is described in various modern academic works, among them Mochizuki (2014), pp. 219–220.

²³See Laures (2004), ID JL-1585-KB1-1; see also Schilling (1940).

²⁴Schütte (1958), vol. 1, part 1, p. 269, n. 127; Laures (2004), ID JL-1585-KB1-1; Jap. Sin. 10 I, f. 145.

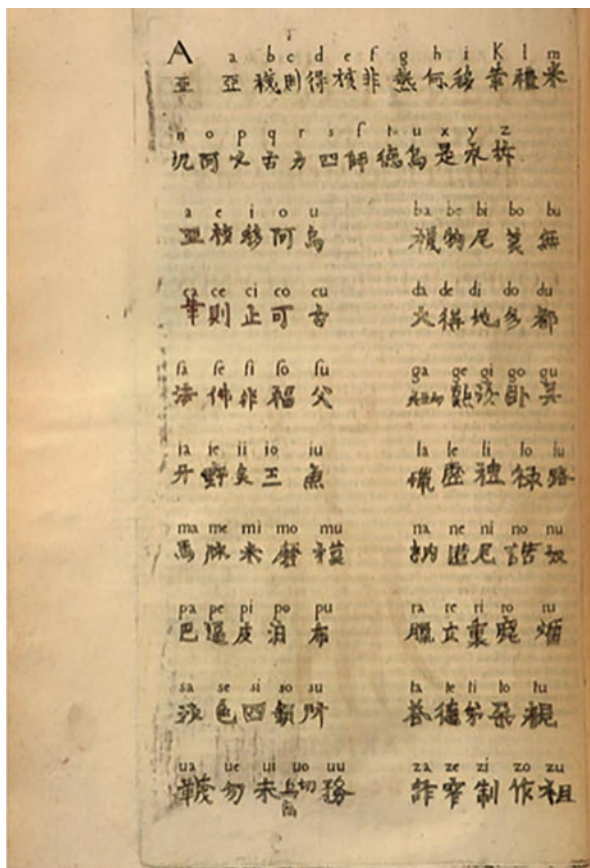


Fig. 9.3 “Latin-Chinese Alphabet”, Thévenot, Melchisédech. 1673. *Relations de divers voyages curieux* IV.2: Voyage à la Chine des PP. I. Grueber et D’Orville, plate 1, before p. 1, Paris: Clousier. John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island

The reason for choosing Chinese characters for this alphabet²⁵ was probably an awareness that Chinese characters were also used in Japan (Fig. 9.3). Throughout East Asia, religious texts are written in Classical Chinese. Some Chinese

²⁵ Only one copy of the alphabet seems to have been preserved, so it can be assumed that it was not widely distributed or that it had any practical impact. It was printed in Melchisédech Thévenot’s (1620–1692) anthology of previously unpublished writings and materials from various Europeans’ journeys, including the journeys of the Jesuit fathers Albert D’Orville (1621–1662) and Johannes Grueber (1623–1680) through Asia. Both had served on the China mission. Thévenot assumes that they had had access to the sheet and gave it to Father Michele Ruggieri, S.J. (1543–1607). Ruggieri, in turn, passed it on to others, and the sheet finally fell into the hands of Thévenot himself. Thévenot (1673), p. 19; Laues (2004), ID JL-1585-KB1-1.

characters are also used in traditional Buddhist texts because of their sound, namely for the transcription of Sanskrit terms. The Jesuit alphabet was not particularly original as it lists characters that were used to transcribe Sanskrit and other Asian languages. The alphabet consists of two parts: (1) Lines 1 and 2 show equivalents for Latin letters. Words from Latin and theoretically also from other European languages that use Latin script can be written with these characters. (2) Below these first two lines, there are 16 groups of five syllables (a total of 80 syllables). These syllables represent the spoken Japanese language of that time.

The Chinese characters in this chart are used solely because of their sound, not their meaning. The advantage of using this alphabet would have been that the transcription of special religious terms from Latin would have mimicked the traditional and therefore recognizable way that many religious terms from Sanskrit were presented in classical Buddhist texts. By representing 80 syllables with a fixed set of Chinese characters, both Latin loanwords and Japanese words could have been typed using a homogeneous typeface.

However, hundreds of years earlier, the Japanese had been confronted with the problem of representing their language, which is very rich in syllables, with Chinese characters, which almost always represent just one single syllable. They initially used a rather cumbersome and time-consuming writing system that involved using several complex Chinese characters (some of which involve 15 or more strokes) to write a multisyllabic Japanese 'word'. This cumbersome system was soon abandoned in favour of the *kana* system: Purely phonetic Japanese characters were developed from the cursive form of Chinese characters to write the so-called *kana* syllables of the Japanese language. The two *kana* scripts, which sometimes served different functions, each contained 50 characters, and covered the entire phonetic range of the Japanese language. As such, a simple solution to a difficult problem had long been established in Japan when Valignano and his team developed their Latin-Chinese alphabet and printed it in Macao. Offering a new, but more complicated solution for the mission was certainly not the way to go. This may be why Valignano ultimately decided against using the Latin-Chinese alphabet. Valignano, who made three visits to Japan and stayed there for several years each time,²⁶ initially expected good results from books printed with the movable Latin letters that the Jesuits used to represent the Japanese language. In a 1592 report, he explained that the Jesuits were not printing texts with Japanese characters because there were too many such characters. Ultimately, however, he would go on to use European printing technology to print books in Japanese using Japanese characters.

²⁶For a detailed outline of Valignano's biography and his missionary principles, see Josef Franz Schütte, S.J. ([1951] 1958); see also Moran (1993).

9.3.2 *Missionary Scripts*

Valignano's intention was to create books for a more general readership. He had correctly observed that texts with many Chinese characters or those written solely in Chinese could only be read by a learned audience. The matrices he requested from Europe for the casting of type for *katakana*, one of the two Japanese sets of syllable characters, as well as matrices for some Chinese characters that are used in *kana* texts, in order to create 'simpler' texts, were, however, never delivered to Japan. The Jesuits in Japan first experimented with wooden printing type for Japanese characters. Some fragments of the products made with this technique have been preserved in the bindings of later prints. Eventually, however, they rejected this technique and employed skilled craftsmen to cast metal type. In addition, the Jesuits created some new characters for Christian expressions such as 'Deus', 'apostolo' and biblical names such as 'Jesu', 'Job' and 'Paulo'. Japanese studies scholar Małgorzata Sobczyk lists eleven such monograms found in a manuscript translation of the *Tratado de la oración y meditación* ('Treatise on prayer and meditation').²⁷ The Jesuits also used Greek or Latin letters in texts otherwise made up of Japanese characters, for example the Greek letter 'chi' as the first letter for Christ, which was then read 'Kirishito' in Japanese.²⁸

It is important to emphasize that from the beginning, the books printed by Jesuits on Japanese soil were printed in Japanese in both the Latin alphabet and in the Japanese writing system with its Chinese characters and syllabaries, using movable type. However, the complexity of a Japanese, or rather 'Sinitic',²⁹ text which uses both Chinese characters, along with glosses, as well as syllabaries, remained a challenge for the European missionaries and their teams although they could have used the more convenient and more economical technique of woodblock printing. During the entire period of missionary work, the Jesuits did not use this printing technique in Japan—with one possible exception³⁰. Woodblock printing was the dominant printing technology in Japan at the time of the mission. In addition to woodblock printing, movable type made of clay or wood had been used for centuries in China and Korea, a technique that had not caught on in Japan for reasons that are also not entirely clear. Printing with movable metal type—made of copper—has been documented in Korea since the thirteenth century. The type was made with the lost-wax casting process, meaning

²⁷ Sobczyk (2020), p. 167. The work was ascribed to Pedro de Alcántara (1499–1562) but, in fact, is more likely based on the *Libro de Oración* by Luis de Granada that Pedro had edited. Sobczyk (2020), p. 159; p. 159, n. 31.

²⁸ See Farge (2009), p. 91, n. 26; see also Mochizuki (2014), p. 125.

²⁹ See Clements (2015), pp. 99–100.

³⁰ A Christian devotional in Japanese letters was printed in Kyoto in 1610 probably using the woodblock printing technique; see below.

serial type production was not possible.³¹ We do not know exactly why, faced with various difficulties, the Jesuits insisted on using their letterpress and decided against woodblock printing. One reason may have been, in my view, that they felt the European printing technology to be fundamentally superior to woodblock printing and that this could be seen by the members of the host culture as a hallmark of excellence.

As of 1591, at least, catechisms, prayer leaves and other texts were printed with the European letterpress at the Japanese College of the Society of Jesus in Kazusa, not far from the port city of Nagasaki.³² In addition to imported books, these printed materials were used for the Catholic mission until the suppression and expulsion of the missionaries after 1614 ended production on Japanese soil.³³ Over the decades, cultural filters of a practical nature such as creating or choosing an appropriate writing system persisted in an environment dominated by a religious culture that for the most part consisted of Buddhism, a ‘translated religion’.³⁴ Buddhists cherished the written word and one of their pious practices was to copy Buddhist texts (*shakyō* 写経) and images in great numbers, often with superb craftsmanship. As such, the target culture of the Jesuit mission in Japan was open to accepting printed materials from the European letterpress. In addition, Japanese Buddhists were used to reading texts in a language they did not speak or understand well since they did not, in fact, translate Chinese Buddhist texts into classical Japanese but instead worked with glosses and syllabaries developed from Chinese characters. These were used to apply a century-old system called *kundoku* 訓読, literally ‘reading by gloss’, when reading Buddhist or, indeed, any other Chinese (Sinitic) texts. Performing *kundoku* involves reading a Chinese text as if it were in Japanese. The Japanese version of the Chinese text, mentally constructed by the glossing system, was not written down as in other translation systems but was either said aloud or voiced mentally. *Kundoku* is “a form of highly bound translation”³⁵ that evolved primarily because Chinese characters, in principle,

³¹In his 2018 study, Peter Kornicki, a specialist on East Asian book culture, addresses the important role of book printing in seventeenth-century East Asia. His main focus is on the role of book printing in the vernacularization of classical Chinese texts.

³²Due to ongoing persecution and political unrest, the Jesuits moved the massive letterpress and the printshop several times within Japan but remained on the island of Kyushu.

³³The press was moved to Manila and Macao where more works for the Japanese mission were printed with the hope to continue the mission in Japan in the future.

³⁴That Buddhism in Japan is a ‘translated religion’ would seem to work in favor for the acceptance of yet another ‘translated religion’ (Christianity). Indeed, in the early decades of the Jesuit mission in Japan, Christianity was seen favorably because it was held to be a form of Buddhism, especially because the missionaries came from (their college in) India, the revered region of origin of Buddhism. The Jesuit missionaries insisted that Catholicism was not, in fact, a form of Buddhism, and that it was superior to it. Increasingly, a powerful resistance by Japanese Buddhists, among other groups, formed against the Christians, so that, in the end, the early mission in Japan came to a halt.

³⁵Clements (2015), p. 105.

represent words, not sounds. These logographs can theoretically be used to write any language. As a consequence, medieval and early modern Japanese authors never felt any immediate need to drop Chinese (Sinitic), or to produce written translations into classical Japanese of important religious texts. The traditional characters remained in use in Japan, but over time, the Japanese simplified some characters and also created some unique Sinitic characters (*kokuji* 国字). It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Japanese Christian (*Kirishitan*) texts include new monograms that are in many ways similar to Chinese characters, to convey Christian terms and names.³⁶

The cultural filter that the early Jesuits and their teams perceived in relation to scripts and the technology of letterpress printing led them to a policy of adaption of the local scholarship and book culture they encountered in Japan, which is a process of domestication. But they also tried to demonstrate the superiority of European printing technology and Catholic scholarship and devotion and thereby engage in what we call, speaking with Venuti, a process of foreignization.

The early Jesuits in Japan also had to grapple with the problem of language itself which is in Japan connected, as I have shown above, with Japanese religious history and the introduction of Chinese texts. Language, whether written or spoken, is perhaps the most ‘impermeable’ cultural filter the early Catholic missionaries in Japan had to deal with in translating Christianity, as I will show in the following section.

9.4 Material Book Culture and the Translation of Religion

In the early days of the Japan mission, the focus was on translating and rendering Christian terminology. The solution to the ecclesiastical language problem was initially to translate the terms with functional equivalents from the Sino-Japanese.³⁷ The best-known example is choosing “Dainichi,” which is the name of the cosmic Buddha, for “God.” It was later decided that using terms in Latin, but also in Portuguese, would be preferred, for example to use “Deus” for “God” (*Deus*)—often abbreviated in texts as “D” or represented by a monogram character as pointed out above. The aim was to prevent Christianity from being viewed as a form of Buddhism in Japan, as was initially the case. Both for theological and practical reasons and, in my view, also because of the nature of

³⁶For more on Jesuit innovations in the Japanese writing system such as ligatures and punctuation of words, see Shira’i (2008).

³⁷See the pioneering work on the Japanese mission’s ecclesiastical language problem by Georg Schurhammer, S. J. (1928); see also Joseph F. Moran’s essay on language barriers experienced by the Jesuit missionaries, in which he presents lengthy quotes from Valignano’s writings in English translation (1992); see also Moran (1993).

the Japanese language and writing system, a mixture of translations and loanwords ultimately prevailed. An example of such a hybrid form is the rendering of the term and book title “(Christian) doctrine” as *Fides no kyō*: *fides* plus the Japanese genitive particle *no* combined with *kyō* 教, the Sino-Japanese word for ‘teaching’.

9.4.1 Language Problems

Another problem the missionaries grappled with was the Japanese language itself. In his Japan *Sumario*, Alessandro Valignano reported on the great complexity of the Japanese language, and its ways of speaking and address:

All residents have one and the same language. It is the best, most elegant, and richest that one knows in the region of discovery; for it is richer in words and expresses its concepts better than our Latin language. Not only does it have a great variety of words that denote the same thing, but it also has inherent subtleties and honorable titles, so that the same nouns or verbs cannot be used for all persons or for all things. Rather, depending on the status of the person and things, one must use high or low, honorable or contemptuous words. They express themselves differently in speaking than in writing, and the way men speak is very different from that of women. The difference in writing is no less; for letters are written differently, books differently. In short, since the language is so rich and elegant, it takes a long time to learn it. If one speaks or writes differently from what they usually do, it seems ridiculous and not very considerate to them, as if someone spoke wrongly with us and with many mistakes in Latin.³⁸

In addition to these insightful observations, Valignano also noticed the many different registers employed in spoken Japanese, which was a key issue when it came to presenting Christian content in sermons. A further persistent problem was that foreign priests did not have sufficiently good Japanese to address Japanese penitents correctly during confession.³⁹ Recognizing this issue, Valignano made repeated requests for brothers of Japanese descent to be ordained as priests. However, it was only in 1601, nearly 60 years after the Japan mission was established, that Rome gave permission for this.⁴⁰

During his second of three stays in Japan, Valignano began to systematize language teaching in Japan, where Japanese was taught to foreigners, and Latin and Portuguese to the Japanese.⁴¹ Language teaching entailed conveying religious and cultural knowledge, both about Europe and Japan. Valignano and his team organized the publication and printing of ‘purely’ linguistic works and sought out useful texts for language acquisition and for learning the different writing

³⁸Valignano (1954 [1583]), translation adapted from Doi (1939), p. 443; *Sumario*, Cap. 2. *Jesuitas na Asia*. 49-IV-56. f. 64^v.

³⁹Schütte (1958), pp. 320–321.

⁴⁰For more on the problem of racial and ethnic discrimination in the early Japanese mission, see Cohen (2008).

⁴¹For language teaching and acquisition in the Japanese Jesuit mission, see Doi (1939).

systems involved in the mission project. For this purpose, ‘secular’ texts such as Aesop’s fables were translated into Japanese, the printing of which was allowed by the Japanese censors long after the official end of Christianity in Japan, because they classified the fables as non-Christian. The Jesuits’ aim was to convey not only linguistic but also cultural knowledge about Europe. Reading and learning about Aesop’s fables was meant to provide Japanese with a European “classical” education in order to facilitate a cultural exchange but also prepare their acceptance of the Catholic creed.

For the foreign Jesuits, the mission produced a dictionary and a Japanese grammar. To convey linguistic and cultural knowledge to them, the mission printed a Japanese heroic epic—the *Heike monogatari*, ‘The Tale of the Heike’—in Japanese colloquial language in the easily comprehensible form of a dialogue. The printed anthology of moral Sino-Japanese aphorisms in Japanese, the *Kinku-shū*, also served this end. Jesuits of Japanese descent could particularly benefit from a Latin-Portuguese dictionary and a Latin grammar. With the notable exception of Aesop’s fables, these linguistic materials shared the same fate as the ‘religious’ books such as prayer books and other everyday Christian literature including devotional literature for both the ordained and laypersons, and were systematically destroyed, especially after 1614. Catechisms were particularly targeted because they included arguments in favour of the refutation of the Buddhist religion, something that the then ruling Tokugawa shogun (military ruler) did not tolerate.

9.4.2 *Editing Work and Publication Policies*

In the catechism *Christianae Fidei*, for example, compiled by Valignano and already printed in 1586 in Lisbon for the Japanese mission, there are a number of refutations of Buddhist teachings. This can be regarded as a considerable achievement in cultural translation, because a bridge between the religion of the target society and one’s own religion had to be created in order to communicate the message.⁴² An important source for exploring cultural filters in the process of passing on cultural and religious knowledge are the written communication and reports of the Jesuits. The letters tell of the hardships of everyday life and later also of the civil wars in Japan, the persecution, torture and executions of Christians, but also of hopes and successes. The letters were supposed to be edifying to the missionaries themselves, so selected letters were read aloud during daily meetings.

The transfer of knowledge about the Japan mission within the Catholic world in Europe is also revealing, because the letters and reports were examined by

⁴²For a comparative study of early modern catechisms in translation including translation into Japanese, see Flüchter und Wirbser (2017); for studies on early catechisms in Japan, see Wirbser (2017) and Abé (2017).

censors, often very heavily edited, and prepared for a European audience for its edification. According to Paula Hoyos Hattori, who explores the construction of otherness and identity in the Jesuit letters of the Japanese mission, the translations and writings of the Jesuits were quite obviously touched by the political and social tensions of their time.⁴³ They were an important part of what would be called foreign policy today. Hoyos Hattori emphasizes that it was important to the head of the first mission in Japan, Francis de Xavier, to develop a regular exchange of letters with the other missions around the world. In this context, it was essential to establish a systematic revision process through which it was possible to determine what exactly could or could not be published. According to Hoyos Hattori, this process was justified by the fact that the missions, their legitimacy and the necessary financial and moral support for future missions were dependent on communicating positive and promising progress in consolidating religion which was tantamount to consolidating a more or less delineated worldview.

If one compares the original letters of the Jesuit Balthazar Gago (1520–1583) to those published after censorship in Evora, Portugal, it is evident that the omissions in the latter hide the similarities that Gago had observed between Buddhism and Christianity.⁴⁴ Balthazar Gago worked in Japan and is particularly known for his language reform concerning the use of religious terms and words in the Japanese mission. In his original letters, Gago explains the bridges between Buddhism and Christianity. While he was inclined to suggest that Buddhism was a kind of erroneous Christianity, the censors in Evora effectively stopped the Japan mission from building on this idea.⁴⁵ Balthazar Gago's observations regarding the parallelism between Christianity and Buddhism could have been interpreted as putting Buddhism on the same level as Christianity. The censors could not tolerate this notion as the Christian religion would then appear as merely one of many religions. Gago himself was aware of this 'danger' as his reasoning for a language reform and his advocacy for using Latin and Portuguese for Christian terms instead of similar but in his eyes false Buddhist terms in the Japanese mission attest to.⁴⁶

Tensions between Catholic scholars also had an influence on censorship and decisions regarding which works were ultimately printed and distributed. At the Jesuits' conference at their College in Kazusa in August 1590, shortly after the

⁴³ Hoyos Hattori (2016).

⁴⁴ See Hoyos Hattori (2016), pp. 82–83.

⁴⁵ The China mission, however, built on the idea of Chinese religion (Confucianism) being a kind of erroneous Christianity. For the China and Japan missions in comparison, see Pina (2001); general outlines of the early China mission are provided by Hsia (2007) and Brockey (2007).

⁴⁶ Schurhammer (1928), pp. 61–65. By 1555, the use of Buddhist terms in Christian sermons, etc. had already been discontinued and instead changed to expressions in Latin or Portuguese. Gago reasoned that the Christians could now explain why the Buddhist words were dangerous and false, and offer explanations of the meaning of the (correct and true) Christian words in Latin or Portuguese. Schurhammer (1928), p. 62, quoting Gago.

printing press arrived, it was determined, under the direction of Valignano, that a number of works that had already been translated should be printed.⁴⁷ Further printed literature was added to this corpus of literature and images over the following 25 years or so. A key problem for the foreign missions was obtaining permission from Rome to print the translations. This was not, or not only, because nobody in Rome could check the quality of the translations, but also because the correspondence took so long, normally up to two years. The Jesuits also printed books in Latin. In some cases, Jesuits in Japan received permission for and printed books that had, in the meantime, been indexed by the Catholic Inquisition. A documented example of this is the reprint of a theological treatise, the *Aphorismi confessoriorum* (1595) by the Portuguese Jesuit Manuel de Sá (1530–1596). Behind the movement to put the book on the index was apparently the Dominican Diego Collado (d. 1638/41), who was also active in the missionary work in Japan. Even though the selection of books and pamphlets for printing was presumably made at regular intervals, the process of translation and printing remained irregular not only due to such inner-Catholic conflicts but also because of the fundamental differences in language and cultural knowledge and, not least, the high mortality rate among those involved.⁴⁸

In addition to the letters and reports, the translated texts themselves reveal cultural filters that were decisive in terms of the content and style of the translations. The printed editions of two different Japanese translations of the *Contemptus mundi* provide rich material to assess the emergence of a Japanese Catholic literature and will be analysed in the following and final section.

9.5 Mediation of Religious Ideas and Practices: Imitation of Christ

As briefly related above, some of the books imported into Japan were translations of the medieval author Thomas à Kempis's *De Imitatione Christi / Contemptus mundi*, prepared by Luis de Granada, although the book was firmly believed at the time to have been originally penned by Jean Gerson. Luis de Granada was not only the translator of a book that had a profound influence on Ignatius and the Society of Jesus. Three of his own works appeared in Japanese translation: (1) *Quinta parte de la Introducción del símbolo de la fe* ('Introduction to the symbol of the faith'), a summary of the apostles' creed with the title *Fides no doxi to xite P. F. Luis de Granada*; (2) *The Sinner's Guide* with the title *Giya do pekadoru* ぎやどへかどる (*Guia de pecadores*) and (3) a Christian doctrine with the title *Fides no kyō*. In addition, hagiographies of saints and martyrs from the second book of his

⁴⁷The "Gerson" is expressly mentioned. Schilling (1940), p. 367.

⁴⁸For more on Collado's initiative, see Humbertclaude (1937), reprint in Marquet (2011).

Introducción del símbolo de la fe were published in the *Sanctos no gosagueo no uchi nuqigagi* ('Extracts from the acts of the saints'), printed in 1591.⁴⁹

9.5.1 Contempt for the World in Japanese translation

Luis de Granada, with whom the Jesuits in Europe had an intimate connection, never travelled to Japan but the monk did meet four young Japanese men from the Tenshō embassy in Lisbon in 1585, when he was of an advanced age. Although the Japanese translation of the *Contemptus mundi* printed in 1596 claims that it has been done from the Latin original, it is held to be very likely that Luis de Granada's popular Spanish rendition may have guided the translators of the book as well (Orii 2010, pp. 44–45).⁵⁰ The book in Spanish was, as mentioned above, available in Japan as early as 1556. In a letter dated 20 February 1588, Luís Fróis mentions that Hosokawa Gracia 細川ガラシャ (1563–1600) requested a catechism and the *Contemptus mundi*.⁵¹ We can assume that Gracia, a convert born into the Akechi family who married the head of the powerful, but ultimately defeated Hosokawa family, was provided with a translated manuscript version of the devotional book after her baptism in 1587. She was called Tama before her conversion to Christianity. Tama Garcia was also known to have eventually taught the content to women at her residence.⁵² She perished during a conflict between warring factions at the Hosokawa residence in Osaka, and there is no trace of the manuscript today.

Contemptus mundi jenbu ('Contempt for the world, complete') finally appeared in Japanese in Latin script in 1596 and was probably printed in Japanese characters in 1603 or even earlier. While three books of the work in Latin script have survived,⁵³ there is no evidence of the 1603 print. Moreover, Laures points to a Latin version that he thinks must have also been printed in 1596, along with the Japanese translation, but the evidence he provides is not clear proof of such

⁴⁹ Jolliffe und Bianchi (2022). For an in-depth discussion on relations between Japan and Europe centering on the role of Luis de Granada, see Orii (2010).

⁵⁰ See also Suzuki (1994).

⁵¹ See Humbertclaude (1937), p. 197, reprint in Marquet (2011), pp. 238–239.

⁵² For a study of Tama Garcia's life in the context of the Catholic mission, see Ward (2009), pp. 292–433; Ward's study is based on the *History of Japan* compiled by Luís Fróis (1532–1597) who used Jesuit letters and reports for his compilation; see Fróis ([1583–1587] 1983), vol. 4, pp. 484–496. Ebisawa assumes that a Japanese translation existed by 1581. Ebisawa (1984), p. 691.

⁵³ The three libraries are Bodleian Library in Oxford, Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milano and Bibliotheca Augusta in Wolfenbüttel, Germany. In my first assessment of the Augusta print I stated that it must be a copy of the earlier edition held at the Bodleian Library, Triplett (2018), p. 127. However, all three books differ very slightly from each other, so they are in fact three different editions printed in the same year (1596).

a print⁵⁴, and a printed version in Latin from the Japanese Jesuit mission press has not been established so far. It is, however, probable that a Latin version was available to the Jesuits as a basis for translation in the form of an imported book (Fig. 9.4).

In 1610, the Japanese convert Hara Martinho (Martinão, c. 1569–1629), who had spent his youth in Europe as part of the Tenshō embassy and was a devout Jesuit and skilled translator, revised and shortened the existing translation of the *Contemptus mundi*. He is credited with the revisions regarding a (no longer existent) print of 1613. A slightly earlier version was printed in Kyoto in 1610 by Harada Antonio, a layman and a convert. Whether Hara Martinho was indeed involved in the production of the printed text is not altogether clear. It is not a Jesuit mission print in the stricter sense, and it is the only book that may not have been printed with movable metal type but with woodblocks carved to look like the work had been printed with movable type.⁵⁵ Only a single copy of the *こんてむつすむんぢ* (*Kontemutsusu munji*) has survived (Figs. 9.5, 9.6 und 9.7).⁵⁶

9.5.2 Brief Comparison of the Two Japanese Translations

It is instructive for our topic to compare both texts of the *Contemptus Mundi* (1596, 1610). The earlier, complete translation of the well-known devotional book was, according to the preface, intended to promote language acquisition among the European Jesuits in Japan. And people from Japan were supposed to use it in the Jesuit schools.⁵⁷ The later, abridged translation, written in Japanese literary style (*wabun* 和文) was probably intended to serve lay people of Japanese origin for their personal devotion.

As William Farge, S. J. points out, the “contempt for the world”, a world full of vanities and trivialities, was identified with or found to be functionally equivalent to the Japanese Buddhist understanding of *ukiyo* 浮世, the “floating, transitory world”. Farge shows the special way in which the Japanese mission created a literature of linguistically high quality that at the same time dealt with

⁵⁴Laures refers to the 1596 annual letter by Luís Fróis: ‘This year the catechism of the Tridentine council was printed in Latin that is being read in the seminary, and *Contemptus Mundi* was also printed in Latin letters and the Japanese language, and the *Exercises* of our Father Ignácio in Latin, and the *Contemptus Mundi* will later be printed for the Japanese to read in their letters.’, “Este año se imprimio el cathecismo del conçilio Tridentino em latim que se va lendo en el seminario, y tambien se imprimio Contemptus Mundi en letra latina y lengua Japonica, y los Exercicios del nuestro Padre Ignaçio en latim, y el Contemptus Mundi luego se a de imprimir para ler Japonese en su letra.”, Laures (2004), I-I-2-72.

⁵⁵See Tominaga (1973). For a more recent study, see Shira’i (2015).

⁵⁶It is kept in the Tenri Central Library. A facsimile edition was published in 1921.

⁵⁷See Farge (2009), p. 86.

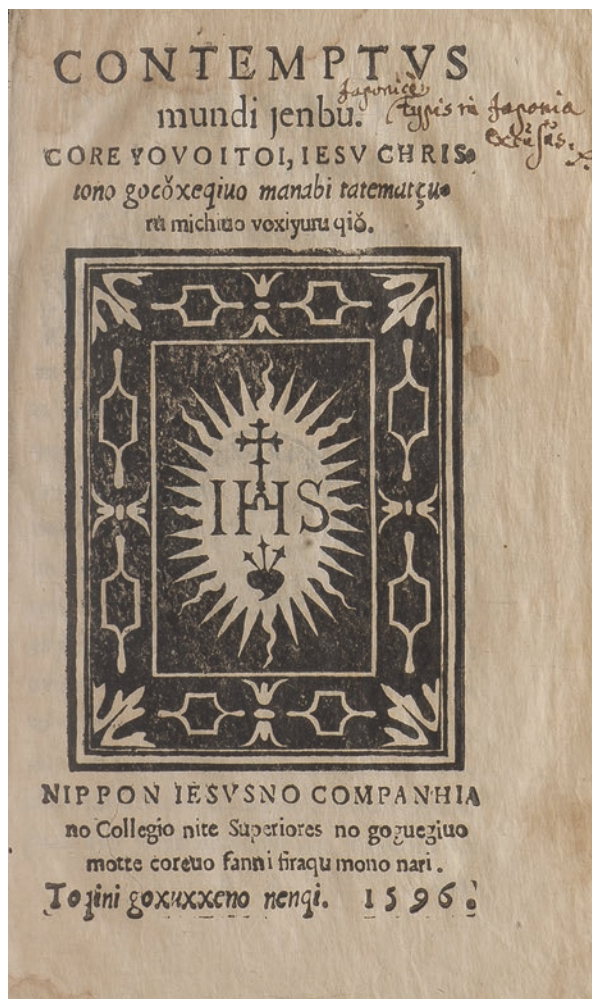


Fig. 9.4 Title page of *Contemptus mundi jenbu* (1596). Herzog-August Bibliothek, Eth. 57.13

Japanese sensibilities.⁵⁸ In both translations, loanwords from Latin or Portuguese are explained directly in the text and combined with well-known Japanese terms from the spiritual world. This method is elucidating but avoids any unpleasant didactical effect. Both texts avoid references to Christ's suffering, crucifixion and death as well as suffering and tribulation in general, which naturally appear very often in the original text. Apparently, these 'negative' images were not seen as

⁵⁸ See Farge (2009), p. 88; Farge (2003), pp. 11–12.



Fig. 9.5 Outer title page, *Kontemutsusu munji*, 1610, Tenri University Library. Source: Kisho fukusei-kai (1921), National Diet Library: <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1185351>



Fig. 9.6 Inner title page, *Kontemutsusu munji*, 1610, Tenri University Library. Source: Kisho fukusei-kai (1921), National Diet Library: <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1185351>. The inner title page uses the date of publication in both the Christian (1610) and the Japanese calendars 15

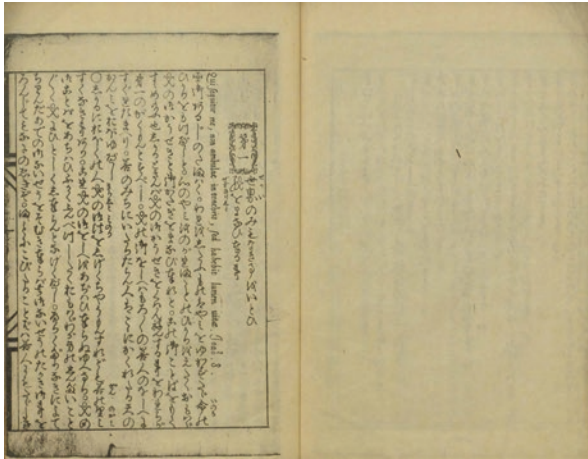


Fig. 9.7 The translators of the *Kontemutsusu munji* made use of biblical quotations in Latin in Latin script and of monograms in the otherwise Japanese text in Japanese script using *hiragana*, one of the two syllabaries, and some *kanji* (Chinese characters). *Kontemutsusu munji*, 1610, Tenri University Library. Source: Kisho fukusei-kai (1921), National Diet Library: <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1185351>

helpful in conveying Christian teachings in Japan.⁵⁹ The translators also choose to omit passages in which Thomas à Kempis teaches that prayer is a purely personal matter.

The differences between the two translations are that the *Contemptus mundi jenbu* speaks more to the intellect while the *Kontemutsusu munji* has a greater emphasis on feelings. For example, we see a frequent use of the word *kokoro* 心 in the *Kontemutsusu munji*. The term *kokoro* means not only the seat of thinking ('mind') but also of feeling ('heart'). The latter work also no longer contains the Buddhist technical terms that frequently appeared in the earlier work, or it replaces them with more poetic Buddhist terms. It is also interesting to see which passages were completely left out in the later work. They are those that address potentially difficult theological issues, such as transubstantiation, according to William Farge. Hara Martinho also changed linguistic images that must have seemed abhorrent to the Japanese mind, such as references to blood, sacrifice and the body, especially in reference to the Eucharist.⁶⁰ For example, while the earlier work always translates the word 'corpus' as *kotsuniku* 骨肉, literally 'bones and flesh', Hara Martinho employs this word, which is unpleasant to Japanese ears, only in passages referring to human carnal desire. Hara Martinho prefers *go-sontai* 御尊体, a honorific term for the body of a Buddha or a deity. He also used the

⁵⁹ See Farge (2003), pp. 27–28; p. 48.

⁶⁰ See Farge (2003), pp. 64–70.

method of imitation by including literary customs from Japan—such as a seasonal poetry typical of Japan—in the Christian translation texts.⁶¹ In addition, passages relating to religious scandals and laxity of monastics no longer appear in the 1610 edition.⁶²

William Farge emphasizes Hara Martinho's artistry,⁶³ but, in my view, Hara Martinho's approach could also be interpreted to mean that references to blood and the body were changed because the Japanese Christians had already had relevant experiences with instances of cruel persecution by 1610. One of the reproaches of the Japanese authorities was that the Christians 'revered' those fellow Christians who were punished by execution. For the authorities, the executed Christians were mere criminals and, therefore, not worthy of any reverence or even notice. For the surviving Christians, however, they were martyrs who died for their faith and served as examples to follow. The authorities held the 'reverence of criminals' to be untenable and harmful for the peace of the state.⁶⁴ Against this background, Hara Martinho wanted to provide positive and encouraging images of the Christian faith in his *Kontemutsusu munji* in a climate of fear and danger.

In fact, readers of the *Kontemutsusu munji* could not enjoy studying and spending time "in a nook with a book" for very long, for only four years later in 1614, another edict was issued by the military government⁶⁵, and this time the eradication of Christian culture was organized more systematically and strictly enforced, although one copy of the book escaped the attention of the law enforcers and gives testimony to the development of Japanese Catholic literature in the early modern period.

9.6 Conclusions

Some of the cultural filters discussed in this chapter were considered to be more permeable than others. We can clearly discern movements of both domestication and foreignization in the formation of early Japanese Jesuit translation culture. After establishing printshops and setting up a European letterpress, Catholic books and other materials in Japanese, written in both Latin and Japanese scripts, began

⁶¹ See Farge (2009), p. 104.

⁶² See Farge (2003), pp. 51–53.

⁶³ Cf. Schwemmer on a manuscript translation of the *Dialogues on the Instruments of the Passion* and the possible role of Hara Martinho in translating it: Schwemmer (2014), esp. p. 477.

⁶⁴ The policy later was to move Christians by torture and intimidation to apostate so as to not "produce" more martyrs.

⁶⁵ The 1614 edict was written by the Zen monk Konchi'in Sūden 金地院崇伝 (also Ishin Sūden 以心崇伝) (1569–1633) on the behest of the Tokugawa shogun. For the earlier edits, see Boscaro (1973).

to impact the local society. The fruits of the translation efforts of the Jesuits and their teams in Japan were translations of both religious and non-religious texts into Japanese. The Japan mission also printed Latin texts and some pictures. Thirty titles, which originally had print runs of several thousand copies,⁶⁶ have been preserved from the Jesuit mission's 25 years of activity in the printshop. The printed books and images served the missionaries and between approximately 300,000 to 750,000 Japanese Christians during the 'Christian century'. The materials conveyed cultural and religious knowledge in both directions—between Japan and Europe. They also testify to the uncertainties as to how far the adaptation of Catholic doctrine and forms of piety should go to accommodate Japanese customs. To what extent should one—following the Jesuit method of accommodation—change the language in order to make Christian teaching understandable to the people of Japan? Should one bring the text to the reader, or the reader to the text? There was also pressure from the Japanese authorities, who were increasingly critical of Christians against the background of colonization by European powers in Asia and, as some argue, because of deeply felt religious sensibilities.⁶⁷ Translators like Hara Martinho and his team not only wanted to create works of high literary quality, but also wanted to refute allegations against Christianity as much as possible in a hostile environment.

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⁶⁶Diogo de Mesquita (1551–1614), the mentor who accompanied the Tenshō embassy, mentions in a 1613 letter that the *Contemptus mundi* in Japanese letters was printed with a run of 1,300 copies, and that the letterpress would print 1,300 pages a day. Farge (2003), p. 10; see also Pacheco (1971).

⁶⁷E. g. Voss et al. (1940), p. 37.

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Kapitel 10

The Transformation of al-Idrīsī's *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq* in the Atlases of 'Alī al-Sharafī of Sfax



Alberto Tiburcio und Víctor de Castro León

The question of authorship in translation is one that requires careful examination. While the source or 'original' work is always at the center of any translation endeavor and the voice of the author should always be retained, it is also true that the translator is in many ways a second author whose voice inevitably resonates in the final work. In this sense, the authorship of a translation is multilayered and complex. This applies to an even greater extent to less conventional types of translation, such as cultural translation between different media. The case at the heart of this study is an example of the latter. The focus is on the adaptation of a medieval geographical text by the twelfth-century Arab geographer Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (d. 1165) into maps and atlases by the sixteenth-century North African mapmaker 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī of Sfax (d. after 1579). Here we understand translation not as the transfer of a text from one language into another, but primarily as a transfer from a predominantly textual medium into a multi-media (textual, cartographic, and iconographic) product, supplemented by occasional transfers of other iconographic elements. At the same time it also represents a conscious modification of al-Idrīsī's source text in the form of abridgements and adaptations in order to tailor it to the needs of the medium as well as to assert al-Sharafī's claim to be the co-author of the work. In many genres of Arabic literature, an authorial persona is clearly identified in forewords,

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afterwords, and colophons.¹ Although this is also the case in al-Sharafī's works, none of his colophons follows the classical model precisely—in terms of number, structure, or content—of Arabic and Islamic pre-modern works; but neither does it follow the model and structure of European atlases and charts.²

In al-Sharafī's work, as we will see in more detail, the authorial voice becomes more pronounced through the development of a style and through particular choices made at various points in the body of each work. For instance, while (with one exception) he does not include the characteristic “chain of transmission” (*isnād*)³ of the authorities who supplied the knowledge required for the construction of his maps, he does repeatedly quote authorities in the fields of geography, cartography, astronomy, and Sufism from different epochs and places.⁴ In this way, he constructs a strategy of knowledge validation and inserts himself⁵ as one more authorial link in the historical chain of transmission of this body of multidisciplinary knowledge through time and space. He thus creates a pattern of multiple authorial voices, which is also common in Classical Arabic literature. Idrīsī's *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq* (The Book of Pleasant Journeys into Faraway Lands, hereafter referred to simply as the *Nuzha*) is also an example of this. In it Idrīsī cites a number of geographical authorities, both Arabic and European, such as Ptolemy (d. c. 170) and al-Mas'ūdī (d. 955).⁶ Lale Behzadi has rightly compared Idrīsī's approach in this work to the concept of “polyphony”, in

¹For more on the complex and interdependent concepts of authorship and authority, see Behzadi und Hämeen-Anttila (2015), Szombathy (2018).

²The colophons in al-Sharafī's works are different from both the standard colophons in the Islamic and Arabic manuscript tradition and from those found in European atlases and portolan charts. While in the 1551 atlas the single colophon occupies the front page and displays features of North African Qur'anic manuscripts and title pages of early printed books, in the 1571 one we find at least four colophons: one at the beginning, two in the middle, and one at the end. The first and main colophon is displayed as a whole page and its format follows the patterns used at the beginning of the text, especially in early modern Islamic manuscripts. These differences are not accidental or random; on the contrary, they demonstrate the uniqueness of each work and the different concepts that al-Sharafī developed for each of the two atlases. For a general perspective on Islamic and Arabic colophons see Déroche (2000), pp. 198–206, 337–349, Quiring-Zoche (2013), Sesen (1997), Piemontese (1987), Troupeau (1997).

³The *isnād* is an element proper of the *ḥadīth* (the sayings and acts of the Prophet Muḥammad) and it is essential for validating their veracity and reliability. See Aerts (2018).

⁴The geographical and astronomical works mentioned by al-Sharafī include works by al-Idrīsī (d. c. 1165), al-Jaghmīnī (fl. 13th century), Rashīd al-Dīn al-Hamadhānī (d. 1318), and Ibn al-'Aṭṭār (d. c. 1470); an anonymous work entitled *Majmū'a al-'ajā'ib wa mā khalaqa Allāh min al-gharā'ib*; and a work by an Istanbul-based author of al-Sharafī's time, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Andalusī.

⁵Aside from citing the aforementioned authorities, al-Sharafī also employs this strategy when quoting from al-Idrīsī's text. Thus, in both atlases—especially in the 1571 one—he includes a passage from al-Idrīsī's work where the latter says that the geographical information in it has been transmitted via the Greek Hermes, the wise men of India, and the Islamic sages, philosophers, and scholars. See al-Idrīsī (2002), pp. 7–8.

⁶al-Idrīsī (2002), pp. 5–6.

the sense that the author often steps back and allows other voices to be heard.⁷ Al-Sharafī's works are likewise polyphonic in that they retain al-Idrīsī's voice (among other sources), while also allowing his own authorial voice to be heard. His practice of repeatedly citing other sources should therefore be seen not as a sign of passivity or a lack of originality, but rather as a way of using other authorities to establish an authorial voice, in a quest to anchor a work within a broader tradition and to assert his authoritative status.⁸

This paper will thus focus on al-Sharafī's decision to present himself as an author. We will explore this at three different levels: 1) at the material level, in terms of the transfer of geographical knowledge and cartographic practices from different sources and traditions into the format of a portolan atlas, the model adhered to by al-Sharafī in the composition of his atlases; 2) at the textual level, in terms of the selective adaptation of sources like al-Idrīsī's work in a quest to create a new work, which would be sufficiently different to be considered an original product, while retaining enough features from its sources to render them recognizable; and 3) in terms of anchoring of the work in question within its local (Mediterranean) setting, through the selection of an appropriate lexical and symbolic repertoire.⁹

10.1 The Concept of *Politics of Translation* as an Approach to Analyzing al-Sharafī's Works

Most studies dealing with the concept of *politics of translation* tend to focus on two overarching themes: the first relates to the sum of the contextual factors surrounding any given translation endeavor. These of course include questions of patronage and commissioning, but also broader issues related to transmission of knowledge across cultures, ranging from missionary projects to cultural propaganda, to name just two obvious examples.¹⁰ The second theme relates to the more technical aspects of translation, including lexical and rhetorical choices, which are informed by the cultural (and political) frameworks from which translation projects emerge. Examples of complex and new approaches to this notion abound, from Gayatri Spivak's studies on feminist translation as solidarity with neglected voices in postcolonial contexts, to Lori Anne Ferrell's study of stylistic choices in English Bible translations, or Kenneth Lloyd-Jones's study of Erasmus's

⁷ Behzadi (2015), pp. 15–17.

⁸ Behzadi (2015), pp. 17–18.

⁹ On this Mediterranean dimension of al-Sharafī's production see De Castro León and Tiburcio (2021).

¹⁰ See Tymoczko (2007), Vidal Claramonte (2019), Bassnet (2011), Bielsa (2014).

critique of Ciceronianism in the early modern period.¹¹ Of special interest and useful for our analysis is the inclusion of the spatial dimension and cartography in translation studies. In his studies on the poetry of Ludovico Ariosto (d. 1533), Francesco Italiano referred to this as “the translation of geographies” or the carticity of a text.¹² The latter term, as understood by Robert Stockhammer, refers to a kind of writing that uses words to mirror the spatial characteristics of a map. According to Stockhammer, carticity of literary description exhibits an “affinity or distance to cartographical process or representation, not only with respect to the setting, but also [...] with respect to the creatures to be located there”.¹³ This can be achieved through a detailed description of the topographic elements of the map, through a sequence that describes an itinerary, or by any other means through which the visual representation becomes indispensable for understanding the text, in a way reminiscent of a map.¹⁴ Related to these approaches, albeit comprising a somehow different aspect of *politics of translation*, is the question of how translators have used their newly conceived texts as legitimizing tools to signal their belonging to a given social or scholarly community.

In our study of al-Sharafī’s works, we look beyond conventional understandings of translation—that is, translation as a source-to-target language transfer—in order to consider other processes, such as dynamic equivalence, intersemiotic translation (recently called transmediation), and carticity.¹⁵ In this broader understanding of cartography as translation—indeed as a complex process of cultural negotiation—¹⁶ *politics of translation* should be linked to the positionality of the creator of such anthologies, textual collages, and compendiums. In other words, the decisions made in the process of assembling, blending, interpreting, and modifying sources in order to create a new product should be understood as modes of intellectual “social signaling” by any given translator or intellectual authority.

As a case study, we examine the appropriation of the above-mentioned *Nuzha* of al-Idrīsī in the works of ‘Alī al-Sharafī.¹⁷ By unravelling this practice

¹¹ Spivak (2012), Ferrell (2008), pp. 56–94, Lloyd-Jones (2001).

¹² See Italiano (2016), pp. 37–40.

¹³ Stockhammer (2007), p. 68, Italiano (2016), pp. 36–38.

¹⁴ See Italiano (2016), Chaps. 2 and 3.

¹⁵ In the last years this cultural process of translation between media has been analysed and reformulated by several authors. Some of the most interesting approaches have been developed by Italiano and Parlog. Italiano and Emström—drawing on Jakobson—have reformulated the concept using the term transmediation. See Italiano (2016), pp. 11–12, 36–38, Parlog (2019), pp. 15–23.

¹⁶ See Italiano (2016), pp. 37–39, Vidal Claramonte (2012), Simon (2012), Harley (1989, 2001).

¹⁷ Only three works by ‘Alī al-Sharafī have been preserved: two atlases (one created in 1571 and preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, Ms Marsh 294, and one created in 1551 and preserved in BnF, Arabe 2278) and a large world map created in 1579 (IsIAO, Rome, Italian National Library).

of abridgement, adaptation, and reformulation, we argue that al-Sharafī was not engaged in a mere act of imitation through copying, but in one of active appropriation for the purpose of generating an original textual and visual product of his own. Through his use of al-Idrīsī's text, al-Sharafī created a framework which allowed him to invest his work with an intellectually authoritative status and to position himself as an authorial persona. As we will see later, al-Sharafī mobilized cultural capital through references and praise for al-Idrīsī's work, which in his time was a renowned classic of geographical knowledge and mapmaking. This enabled him to present himself as an heir to a long-established tradition of knowledge and mapmaking practiced in multiple Islamic circles. But these references were not his only modes of speaking with and through al-Idrīsī's voice. Nor was the use of this work his only strategy for translating Majorcan and Italian sea charts and atlases into the knowledge contexts of the two urban societies in which he lived—Sfax and Qayrawan. Numerous other—textual as well as visual—features were used to modify the maps and their contextual elements, which he sought to translate into his two atlases. Creatively appropriating well-known texts, architectural decorations, calligraphies, paintings, materials, layouts, and metric formats were the major ways in which al-Sharafī innovatively transformed foreign charts and atlases and combined them with graphic elements that were more common in his cultural milieu. Hence, in our analysis of al-Sharafī's work we understand *politics of translation* as a series of rhetorical and visual choices made by the translator—the mapmaker—to anchor his product within a broader intellectual tradition of textual and visual geographical knowledge in Arabic, and also to ground it in the Mediterranean context in which he lived.

10.2 'Alī al-Sharafī: Copyist or Author?

The work of 'Alī al-Sharafī of Sfax, an otherwise little-known character associated with the production of two atlases and a grand-scale world map,¹⁸ challenges our understanding of the relationship between map production and appropriation and the reinterpretation of geographical knowledge in many ways. The dearth of information about him and about the context in which he worked makes it

¹⁸Very little is known about 'Alī al-Sharafī and his family. It is often assumed that the *nisba al-Sharafī* was of Andalusian origin, from the village of *Sharaf*, near Seville, although there is insufficient evidence for this. The name *Sharaf* has also been associated with places in Yemen, Syria, Arabia, and Egypt. Regarding his place of birth, in his 1571 Atlas and in his 1579 world map he states clearly that he was residing in Qayrawān (*al-Qayrawānī qarāran*), but not in the 1551 atlas, where he only describes himself as *al-Ṣafāqusī* (from Sfax). See Kahlaoui (2018), pp. 212–213 and Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (2007), pp. 336–337. According to a more recent source, the Andalusī Sharafī family migrated in the 14th century, settling first in Fez and moving later to other places in North Africa. See the entry “al-Sharafī” in *Ma'lamat al-Maghrib* (1989), vol. 16, p. 5338. For studies on al-Sharafī, see Herrera-Casais (2008, 2017), Ledger (2016), pp. 272–336.

impossible to know, for example, whether being a mapmaker was his primary occupation or “professional identity”. We know that members of his family, in both previous and subsequent generations, were involved in mapmaking and astronomy,¹⁹ but it is not entirely clear what the mechanisms for transmitting the skills and knowledge associated with this activity were, nor in what kind of institutional setting this occurred.²⁰ Neither is it clear what kind of intellectual upbringing al-Sharafī had.²¹ Almost all the evidence we have derives directly from his works. Only they provide us with any clues about what mapmaking as an intellectual enterprise meant for him. As such, the graphic and textual decisions in his atlases (and in his world map, for that matter) give us some insight into his strategies of intellectual self-fashioning, which reveal the different layers of his authorial persona.

Al-Sharafī relied on already existing geographical knowledge to produce his works, drawing from it in the form of adapted quotations. In contrast to previous evaluations, our investigation revealed that his use of sources was by no means passive, but rather a complex process of creative reformulation. Thus, while the textual elements in al-Sharafī’s map production seem at first glance to be the work of a copyist, upon closer examination it becomes clear that his adaptation of sources is based on a complex methodology of realizing content-related goals combined with an explicit authorial intent. In addition to drawing on previous geographical knowledge, al-Sharafī also appropriated graphic elements from several Arabic sources as well as textual and graphic features found in geographical and cosmological genres and formats from other linguistic and cultural contexts. As we will see later, these primarily included references to Classical Antiquity (particularly Ptolemaic geography), to early modern European cartographical traditions, and to a lesser extent, to other cosmological traditions, such as the Indian one. Hence, his work constitutes an exemplary case of

¹⁹We know that his father Muḥammad taught him the prayer times (see fol. 11^r, 1571 atlas) and that later members of his family—such as Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Sharafī (d. 1669)—studied in Alexandria and at al-Azhar (Cairo) and composed works related to astrolabes, quadrants, and timekeeping. See Soucek (1992), p. 287, Maqdīsh (1988), vol. 2, pp. 390–398.

²⁰The current state of our research has led us to conclude that al-Sharafī’s works should not be categorized within a single discipline, since they reveal other facets of him such as that of *faqīh* (‘legal expert’) or Sufi. For other examples of figures with multiple identities, see Italiano’s study of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (d. 1559), a Spanish sailor who is considered to have been an author, a trader, a translator, a conqueror, a slave, a healer, a fugitive, and a cartographer all simultaneously. See Italiano (2016), pp. 51–72.

²¹As already mentioned, al-Sharafī learned astronomy and timekeeping from his father. We also know—as he claims in the 1571 atlas and 1579 world map—that he adhered to the Mālikī school of Islamic jurisprudence, which is to this day the most prevalent in North Africa, and that he frequented Sufi circles, such as those related to the Shādhilī brotherhood. On the Mālikī school, see Talbi (1962), Rammah (1995), Lévi-Provençal (1953). On the Shādhilī brotherhood in Tunisia, see Amri (2001, 2005, 2010).

cultural translation.²² In this sense, we can describe al-Sharafī's methodology as a multilayered quest for *dynamic equivalence*,²³ with the atlases being the target language in which semantic (and in al-Sharafī's case, also semiotic) equivalents of a geographic treatise (as well as other literary, visual, and identity-defining sources) were sought and integrated.

10.3 Al-Sharafī's Appropriation of al-Idrīsī's Book

In preparing his atlases, al-Sharafī consulted other geographical, astronomical, and religious texts and relied on oral forms of knowledge;²⁴ however, al-Idrīsī's above-mentioned book was the source he relied on the most.²⁵ The manuscripts²⁶ comprising this book are a geographical compendium containing a series of small sectional charts and a description of a rectangular world map which, if ever executed, did not survive.²⁷ Later copies of al-Idrīsī's work include a circular world map that is not described in the text.²⁸ Much later, in the twentieth century, Konrad Miller (d. 1933) reconstructed a full-scale rectangular world map based on six surviving manuscripts of al-Idrīsī's sectorial charts.²⁹ Recently, the *Factum Art*

²²The most notable example is al-Sharafī's transmediation of the characteristics of the North African Qur'an manuscript tradition to his three preserved works, especially his two atlases. This is discernible both in the format and in many visual elements such as the knot frames and the medallions, among others. For a detailed analysis of the iconographic elements in al-Sharafī's work as cultural translation, see De Castro León and Tiburcio (2021). For more on the format of the North African Qur'an during the early modern period, see Deroche (2001).

²³See Nida (1964).

²⁴In addition to the previously mentioned sources used by al-Sharafī, in this section he also uses a commentary by the Andalusī Sufi scholar Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī (d. 1390) on the *al-Murshida* of the Almohad Ibn Tūmārt, the *Qur'an*, *Sunna*, *ḥadīth* and Mālikī law treatises, as well as oral and popular references relating to the sea and to agriculture and paremiology.

²⁵For studies on the introduction of the *Nuzha* and the circulation of its manuscripts, see Rubinacci (1966, 1970).

²⁶Of the ten catalogued manuscripts of this work, only eight contain sectorial charts and only four have been preserved almost in their entirety. See Maqbul (1992), pp. 160–163, Ducène (2017), Vernay-Nouri (2015).

²⁷For discussions on the real extent of al-Idrīsī's influence in later cartography and on his role at the court of Roger II of Sicily (d. 1154). See Campbell (2020).

²⁸A very similar small circular world map is found in the anonymous work known as *The Book of Curiosities* in the copy preserved in the Bodleian Library (Ms Arab c. 90). This work was composed in the 11th century and the Oxford copy is dated to the late 12th–early 13th centuries. The question of which was the earliest source to contain this circular world map has been a matter of debate. T. Campbell had the following to say on the matter: "The circular world map, occupying an undeservedly central position in Idrīsīan studies, is probably a corrupted copy of the *Charta*'s information and hence has no valid place in al-Idrīsī's history", Campbell (2020), p. 7.

²⁹Miller (1928).

Foundation also reconstructed the sectorial charts to form a whole rectangular chart, basing its work on the complete copy preserved in the Oxford Bodleian Library.³⁰ In this respect, the importance of ‘Alī al-Sharafī and his son Muḥammad resides precisely in the fact that they are the first known mapmakers to have reconstructed al-Idrīsī’s sectorial charts and adapted them to their own cartographic products, respectively, their 1579 and 1601 world maps.³¹ While beyond the scope of our paper, the question of how al-Sharafī gained access to al-Idrīsī’s work is a pertinent one.³² None of the copies of the *Nuzha* catalogued so far was copied in North Africa. However, there is evidence of its use in Ifriqiyya (modern-day Tunisia) since the thirteenth century by authors like Ibn Sa‘īd al-Maghribī (d. 1286) and Ibn ‘Abd al-Mu‘min al-Ḥimyarī (d. after 1325).³³ In addition to its value for the study of geography, there is evidence that al-Idrīsī’s work was used in some Morisco circles as a tool for Arabic language instruction and geographical consultation, although it is hard to determine how widespread this use was.³⁴ For our purposes, however, what matters is that al-Sharafī made use of the text of the *Nuzha* in multiple ways. In al-Sharafī’s work, the textual, iconographic, and cartographic elements are intertwined to the point of being almost interdependent.

³⁰Ms Pokocke 375, dated 1456. The reproduction of the Factum Art Foundation is available online: https://highres.factum-arte.org/Al_Idrisi_HTML/Digital_Restoration/index.html. Accessed: 29 January 2021.

³¹This work may also have been produced by his grandfather Muḥammad. In a legend written in the center of the Asian side of his 1579 world map ‘Alī al-Sharafī states: ‘I translated (*naqaltu*) this geography (*jughrāfiyā*) of another composed by my grandfather Muḥammad—God have mercy on him—who copied [in turn] the outline of the Syrian Sea and its ports of a nautical chart (*kunbāṣ*) made by the people of Mallorca—may God destroy it.’ Muhammad’s world map is preserved in the BnF (GE C-5089 (RES)).

³²Access to the *Nuzha* does not necessarily imply direct access to a manuscript of the work in question. Although it is likely that al-Sharafī worked with the *Nuzha* itself after his 1551 atlas, he may also have worked with abridged versions or fragments.

³³The 18th-century author from Sfax, Maḥmūd Maqdīsh (d. c. 1818) claims that he used al-Idrīsī’s *Nuzha* in the composition of his own *Nuzhat al-anzār fī ‘ajā’ib al-tawārikh wa-l-akhbār*, of which one copy is preserved in the BnF (Ms Arabe 6828). Although this question requires more thorough analysis and more differentiated and reliable data, we can make two important assertions: first of all, our analysis of the cultural strategies that al-Sharafī used to boost his persona has revealed that he used works to which he had relatively easy access and were known by the audience/consumer, as the *Nuzha* would have been. Secondly, we have recently found three copies of the *Nuzha* in the Tunisian National Library which would seem to provide solid evidence of the presence of the work on Tunisian territory. None of these copies have any charts, only text. One of them is a fragmentary copy of the *Nuzha* and is written in Armenian and Arabic (ms 18.314). The other two manuscripts are copies of the same work that is registered in the Tunisian catalogue as *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī dhikr al-amṣār wa-l-aqtār wa-l-buldān wa-l-juzur wa-l-madā’in wa-l-āfāq* and is attributed to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (manuscripts 12.912 and 12.981).

³⁴The 17th-century Tunis-based Morisco author al-Ḥajarī, known as El Bejarano states in his *Rihla* (also known as *Kitāb Nāsir al-Dīn ‘alā al-qawm al-kāfirīn*), that in the year 1588 he saw a copy of the *Nuzha* in the residence of the bishop of Granada. The latter was used for Arabic instruction and for geographical consultation. Al-Ḥajarī also notes that this copy of the *Nuzha* had been printed by the Christians. See al-Ḥajarī (2015), pp. 18–25.

10.3.1 *Al-Sharafī's Authorial Strategies*

We will now proceed to analyze al-Sharafī's authorial (and traductological) strategies with regard to his appropriation of al-Idrīsī's text. Our exploration will also take into account the ways in which the material characteristics of his opera (including matters of format) affected his decisions.

10.3.1.1 **Format and Materiality**

Materiality played a decisive role in al-Sharafī's cultural translation strategies. In his use of sources, some material aspects shaped his decisions at the textual, iconographic, and cartographic levels. This is clear in his choice of the format³⁵ and in the material supports he used (cardboard, paper, and parchment), which help explain the substantial differences between the various renditions of al-Idrīsī's quotations in al-Sharafī's work.³⁶ The 1551 atlas, for example, is designed in accordance with the format and measurements of medieval Qur'ans from North Africa and al-Andalus. Format-related decisions also apply to the use of quotes from the *Nuzha*. These appear throughout his atlases, in particular in the explanatory texts accompanying the diagram of the celestial spheres (fol. 2^r) and the small circular world map (fol. 2^v–3^r) in the 1571 atlas, and at the top of the circular world map of the 1551 atlas (fol. 3^r).³⁷

³⁵None of al-Sharafī's atlases is similar to European atlases in terms of format. Instead, al-Sharafī based them on the typical format of Maghrebi Qur'ans. The 1551 atlas, for example, measuring 250 × 200 mm, corresponds to the Qur'ans composed during the Almohad period (12th–13th centuries) in al-Andalus and the Maghreb. The 1571 atlas is slightly larger and measures 270 × 210. In contrast, European atlases from the 15th–16th centuries exhibit larger formats and scales. One example is Battista Agnese's atlas of 1543 (BnF, 14.410 (RES), which measures 345 × 245 mm. Obviously, al-Sharafī's smaller sizes conditioned numerous formal features, such as the amount of text that could be inserted as well as the size of the tables, diagrams, and maps. See Guesdon (2016), Deroche (2000), p. 181.

³⁶In his 1551 atlas, al-Sharafī used cardboard, whereas in his 1571 atlas, he employed paper for the texts, diagrams, and tables and paper board for the sectorial charts. These differences in materials also conditioned how he used al-Idrīsī's texts. In the 1551 atlas (a total of 8 fols.) al-Sharafī had to select very carefully the text that he inserted on each page. The use of paper in the 1571 atlas (14 fols.) allowed him to create a longer atlas and to include longer texts as well as more diagrams and tables. This undoubtedly opened further options for selecting sources and thus incorporating, translating, or transforming additional elements from other cultural contexts.

³⁷See al-Sharafī BnF Arabe 2278 and al-Sharafī, Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms Marsh 294. In the case of the 1579 world map, the use of the texts and visual elements of the *Nuzha* is more complex. In contrast to what we see in the circular world maps in the two atlases, the texts in this rectangular map are much more numerous, have a visually greater impact, and function as textual framings of the images. The 1579 world map is preserved without catalogue number in the Library of the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (IsIAO), which recently moved from its old headquarters to the National Central Library in Rome.

The latter world map displays the most abridged version of what closely resembles one of the opening passages of the *Nuzha*, a recurrent passage throughout his work.³⁸ One possible explanation for this abridgment could be that al-Sharafī did not have direct access to any complete manuscript of al-Idrīsī's work until later in his career, and may have been working with indirect quotations from other authors. Another perhaps more plausible explanation relates to al-Sharafī's authorial strategies as shaped in part by the format of each individual work and the different concepts he employed for each of his atlases. This hypothesis is supported by other characteristics of the world map in question (see Fig. 10.1), which merge aspects of Idrīsian-style mapmaking with that of others.

The result of this is the creation, whether intentionally or not, of an original "Sharafian" product, as opposed to a mere imitation of al-Idrīsī. Al-Idrīsī's influence is seen, for example, on this map in the shape of the Black Sea and the Arabian Peninsula.³⁹ Both are ultimately derived from ancient Greek sources. Idrīsian ancestry can also be discerned in the islands in the Indian and Pacific oceans.⁴⁰ Some of the islands in the Atlantic and the North Sea were already marked in the circular world map attached to some of al-Idrīsī's manuscripts. Even the shape of the Atlas Mountains and the Nile sources might have been inspired by al-Idrīsī's sectorial maps of North Africa. But it is more likely that the shape of the Atlas Mountains in al-Sharafī's map was derived from a Majorcan portolan chart (see Fig. 10.2).

The shape of the Caspian Sea, with its trifurcate contours, is already documented in a circular world map contained in a copy of Ibn Hawqal's (d. after 978) (see Fig. 10.3) *Kitāb Šūrat al-arḍ* (The Book of the Picture of the Earth).

³⁸This quotation is very similar—in content and structure—to the one that appears in the explanatory text of the diagram of the celestial spheres in the 1571 atlas (fol. 2^r). See BnF, Ms Arabe 2278, fol 3^r., where we read: '—praise God—description of the geography according to what is to be extracted from the words of the philosophers and the noble sages. You [should] know that the Earth is round like the roundness of a sphere and the water adheres to the [whole] Earth and naturally rests upon it. It is divided into two halves by the equator which extends from East to West, and this is the Earth's longitude. The northern quarter of the Earth is inhabited, whereas the rest of it is empty without people, due to the intense cold and the frost. Also the southern quarter is uninhabited due to the intense heat and the passage of the Sun. The Surrounding Sea encompasses half of the Earth all around in a connected enclosure like a belt; only half of it is visible like an egg submerged in the water. This inhabited quarter was divided by the scholars ('*ulamā*') into seven climates (*aqālīm*) with their [respective] seas, as was mentioned by the author of the *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq* and Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār in his [work] *Ikhtirāq al-aqtār* [that you should] consult—God is the Wisest.' (All the translations of the primary sources in this article were done by the authors in collaboration with Sonja Brentjes.)

³⁹Al-Idrīsī's two small circular world maps held by the Bodleian Library Oxford can be seen online. For the Pococke 375 ms: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/ced0d8bd-1019-4af2-9086-e411115f1507/surfaces/cc2debab-70f5-4b82-9bab-7235fdb89e43/> and the Greaves 42 ms: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/c99d2caf-7abc-4593-97a7-02bf17213f35/surfaces/e1cc5c2d-f2a7-45a0-9738-e952e50ec5f6/>. Accessed: 29 January 2021.

⁴⁰On the representation of the Indian Ocean in European and Islamic cartography, see Vagnon and Vallet (2017).



Fig. 10.1 Al-Sharafī's atlas, 1551. BnF, Arabe 2278, fol. 3^r



Fig. 10.2 Pedro Rosell, BnF, CPL GE C-15118 (RES), dated 2nd half of 15th century



Figs. 10.3 Ibn Hawqal's world map, BnF, *Šūra al-arḍ*. BnF, Arabe 2214, fols. 52^v–53^r, dated 1445–56

Other features resemble more closely the work of other mapmakers, notably the design of Mount Qāf. This can be found in many earlier circular world maps, for instance those by Zakariyya al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283) and Ibn al-Wardī (d. 1457)⁴¹ (see Fig. 10.4).

In addition to features derived from different Islamic mapping styles, elements belonging to the Mediterranean portolan chart tradition, such as the lines for the thirty-two winds and the coastal lines of Syria and North Africa, are prominent in our author's world map. (see Fig. 10.2). It is precisely these hybrid stylistic features that come together in a new product that distinguishes al-Sharafī's *politics of translation* and his individuality.

10.3.1.2 A Sharafian or an Idrīsian Text?

The richest and most complex aspects of al-Sharafī's appropriation of the *Nuzha* can be discovered at the textual level. A comparison of the different surviving manuscripts of this work reveals that, while there are indeed some minor differences between them, none of them corresponds verbatim to al-Sharafī's

⁴¹There is some debate concerning the authenticity of the circular map attributed to Ibn al-Wardī. For details of the debate, see Cheneb (2012).



Fig. 10.4 Ibn al-Wardī's world map, *Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib*. BnF, Arabe 2193, copy dated 1597

rendition of it. While al-Sharafī draws from it, he makes—in addition to the usual copying mistakes—significant abridgements and adaptations of certain passages. Mistakes occur, for instance, when words with the same ending appear in subsequent or nearby lines. This led the scribe (al-Sharafī or his collaborators) to accidentally skip a few words or even entire lines of text. In at least one case, discussed below, the multiplicity of Arabic technical terminology, which came about because scientific texts were translated from different cultures between the eighth and the early eleventh century, seems to be the reason why any given term is sometimes replaced by a different one. In other cases, exemplified below, the alterations are clearly deliberate, even if they only consist of a single word.

These modifications do not constitute consistent patterns within the text, but rather reflect general tendencies of al-Sharafī's working practice.⁴² In the adaptation of the above-mentioned excerpt describing the characteristics of the Earth, there is a reference to an allegory of possibly Indian origin, in which the Earth is described as a cosmic egg floating in a receptacle of water.⁴³ Al-Idrīsī's text (like all previous texts containing variations of this passage) refers to the "belly of the celestial sphere" (*jawf al-falak*) and to the "belly of the egg" (*jawf al-bayḍa*). In the second case, al-Sharafī replaced the word "belly" (*jawf*) with the word "middle/midst" (*wasaf*), writing "*jawf al-falak wa-wasaf al-bayḍa*".⁴⁴ By al-Sharafī's time, the standard term in the astral sciences was no longer "belly" but

⁴² For the text of the excerpt in the 1551 atlas, see footnote 38.

⁴³ The allegory is similar to the Vedic Hiranyagarbha, which most likely entered the Islamic imagination through the work of Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (d. after 1050). See al-Bīrūnī (1910), vol. 1, pp. 221–223.

⁴⁴ See al-Sharafī, Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms Marsh 294, fol. 2^v and al-Idrīsī (2002), vol. 1, pp. 7–8.

“middle”. The lack of consistency in his usage of the two terms suggests that *wasat* was indeed such a common technical term that he replaced the older term simply as a matter of course. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that other sources referred to by al-Sharafī also use the term *wasat*—from the astronomical work *Risāla* by al-Jaghmīnī (fl. 13th century) to the work of the Andalusī Sufī Ibn al-‘Abbād (d. 1389/90),⁴⁵ and the geographical work of Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār (d. c. 1470).⁴⁶

In other passages, technical information included in al-Idrīsī’s work is omitted. For instance, when the above-mentioned passage of the *Nuzha*⁴⁷ refers to the measurements of the equator and other terrestrial and astronomical information, it presents a detailed list of measurement units, including the Persian *farsakh*, the *iṣbaʿ* (‘digits’), and the *ḥabbat al-shaʿīr* (‘barleycorn’).⁴⁸ Al-Sharafī dispensed with all of them in his rendition of the quotation in his atlas of 1571.⁴⁹ He also omitted the description of the equator as “the longest line on Earth just as the ecliptic (*minṭaqat al-burūj*) is the longest line in the heavens”.⁵⁰ The quest for textual sobriety might be the underlying reason for such abridgements. This characteristic is neither capricious nor merely a question of authorial taste, but was dictated by the nature of his cartographic practices. For example, when al-Idrīsī wrote the above-mentioned passage describing the characteristics of the Earth, he was introducing the notion that the Earth could be divided into seven climes.⁵¹ Here, al-Idrīsī explained that the climes were divided not by natural lines but by man-made ones, and that in some of them mountains were more prevalent, whereas cities and fortresses could be found in others.⁵² Al-Sharafī’s decision to delete this entire passage from the text accompanying the circular world map of

⁴⁵This work, entitled *al-Durra al-mushayyada fī sharḥ al-Murshida*, is a commentary on the famous work *al-Murshida* of the Almohad leader Ibn Tūmārt (d. 1130).

⁴⁶We still have some doubts about the identity of this author. He may be the Egyptian author Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār who settled in Cairo and was the author of several works on astrolabes and timekeeping. See King (2008).

⁴⁷See footnote 38.

⁴⁸See al-Idrīsī (2002), vol. 1, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁹See al-Sharafī, Bodleian Library Oxford ms Marsh 294, fol. 2^v.

⁵⁰See al-Sharafī, Bodleian Library Oxford ms Marsh 294, fol. 2^v and al-Idrīsī (2002), vol. 1, pp. 7–9.

⁵¹See al-Idrīsī (2002), vol. 1, p. 9.

⁵²‘Scholars have divided the inhabited quarter of the Earth into seven climes, each of which extends from West to East along the equator, and these climes are not defined by natural lines but are rather artificial and their borders have been defined by astronomers. And in each of these climes there are a number of cities and fortresses and villages, and the people in them do not like each other. And in each of these climes there are tall mountains, contiguous valleys, springs, running rivers, still lakes, mines, women, and different animals of which we will talk about with the help of God. And each of these seven climes is traversed by seven seas, which are called gulfs, six of which are contiguous and one of which is not attached to anything (...)’ (Transl. S.B., V.d.C.L., A.T.). For the Arabic text see al-Idrīsī (2002), vol. 1, p. 9.

the atlases (which in the case of the 1551 atlas appears above the map)⁵³ can be explained by the fact that neither atlas contains climatic divisions.⁵⁴ As we will see in more detail later, this can be considered an example of carticity in al-Sharafī's practice, in the sense that the text reflects the characteristics of the map it accompanies. As such, it is also an example of medium-based translation, since the abridgement of the text is designed to fit the visual elements (and the format) of the overall multi-media product of which it is part.

10.3.2 *Creating a Mediterranean and Maritime Product*

Al-Sharafī's efforts to simplify, streamline, and reduce to essentials the textual information appropriated from al-Idrīsī's work went hand in hand with another goal that he sought to achieve. The structure of the atlases highlights the seas, especially the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, as the focus of his work, a structure predetermined by his sources, namely charts labelled in Latin script, which he transliterated into Arabic. To avoid a major conflict between this focus and his use of excerpts from al-Idrīsī's book, al-Sharafī had to translate the passages borrowed from a universal geographical context into texts applicable to the only two seas of interest to him and his potential customers, who are likely to have been elite families from Qayrawān and Sfax. Thus, on the one hand we have the translation (through transliteration) of a European portolan chart into his own chart; and on the other, the translation (through selection and abridgement) of a universal geography into a series of regional sectional charts.

Perhaps surprisingly, al-Sharafī did not use the *Nuzha* in his explanatory notes accompanying the sectional sea charts of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. In these cases, he drew from "al-Hamadhānī", a likely reference to the Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318).⁵⁵ This alone indicates that his textual choices were not random, but conscious and systematic.

In contrast, let us now consider the sections in which our author did use the *Nuzha*. Drawing on the concept of "carticity", we have seen in Sect. 3.1.2 that al-Sharafī chose the *Nuzha* as the best work to construct an explanatory preface to the seas shown on his small circular world maps, thus stressing the interdependence between text and image. He adapted (translated) the essential information on the seven seas⁵⁶ contained in the *Nuzha*—the origin and beginning

⁵³ In both atlases the small circular world map is oriented southwards, therefore the south is at the top of the folio.

⁵⁴ See al-Sharafī BnF, Arabe 2278, fol. 3^r and Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms Marsh 294, fol. 5^v.

⁵⁵ See Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms Marsh 294, fol. 12^v.

⁵⁶ These seas appear in the 1571 atlas in this order: Chinese Sea, Persian Sea, Red Sea, Mediterranean Sea, Adriatic Sea, Black Sea, and Caspian Sea. See al-Sharafī, Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms Marsh 294, fols. 2^v–3^r.

of each sea, its length and width, and the number of its islands –⁵⁷ in such a way that the attention of the reader (and viewer) is drawn towards the Mediterranean, about which he gives the most information. The sequence of the seas in the text corresponds to the order in which they are shown on the circular world map. It begins with the China Sea, passes through the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula, and then continues through to the Atlantic Ocean and the Strait of Gibraltar, finishing in the Strait of Istanbul and the Caspian Sea.⁵⁸

It is in this process of adapting the text of al-Idrīsī's universal geography into a Mediterranean atlas that al-Sharafī's authorial persona finds its most elaborate expression. While throughout his work al-Sharafī retains quotations of passages from the *Nuzha* that make reference to different parts of the world, a close examination of his textual selection throughout his opera makes it clear that he favours themes, motifs, and cultural and geographic references linked to the Mediterranean. By this we do not only mean references to cities in the Mediterranean region, but also more specifically to imagery related to the sea itself. This allows al-Sharafī to ground his works in a localized environment. We could even call it a strategy of “domestication” of al-Idrīsī's work. In translation theory, this term has been understood by Lawrence Venuti as a process through which the text in the target language is constructed so that it sounds familiar to the target audience, eliminating from it as far as possible the foreignness of the text in the source language.⁵⁹ By keeping the Mediterranean elements of al-Idrīsī's work, while removing references to cities, seas, and other geographical landmarks from other regions, al-Sharafī domesticates al-Idrīsī's work in order to create a new product rooted in a local context.

Furthermore, this process of domestication was fostered by yet another set of elements from the portolan atlases and charts that shaped al-Sharafī's textual decisions. Given his emphasis on the seas, sometimes even at the expense of coastal—let alone inland—cities, he naturally opts for terms related to seafaring.

The 1571 atlas contains two very clear examples of the maritime nature of al-Sharafī's creation. In it, our author quotes a passage from al-Idrīsī's text in which reference is made to two main bodies of water, namely the Gulf of Venice (*Khalīj*

⁵⁷ In some cases, like the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, al-Sharafī gives very brief information about some navigational dangers.

⁵⁸ Although it might be considered irrelevant, the sequence of the seas in al-Sharafī's quotations of the *Nuzha* is not only connected to the depiction of the seas on the map but also to its format. This is also evident in the 1579 world map, where we find a similar sequence to that in the 1571 atlas. In this case, however, the information about the Black Sea appears before that about the Adriatic. This might be partially explained by the different ways of seeing and reading a rectangular and a circular map. For a visual reproduction of the chart see Chelli (1996), pl. 22, *The History of Cartography* (1992), vol. 2:1, pl. 24. For the texts of the world map see Nallino (1944).

⁵⁹ See Venuti (1995), pp. 17–41.

al-Bundiḡiyya) and the Black Sea (*Khalīj Nītus*).⁶⁰ When comparing al-Sharafī's rendition to al-Idrīsī's, we notice a major omission. Al-Idrīsī follows the reference to the Gulf of Venice with a geographical itinerary taking in the major coastal cities along it:

[...] it starts from the East from the lands of Calabria, from the lands of Rum and from the city of Otranto (*Adhrant/Adhrantū*), it passes by the northern side and turns westwards towards the land of Bari towards the coast of Sant Angelo (*Shant Anjil*) and then runs through the West and along the western shore towards the land of Ancona and passes towards the coasts of Venice and ends in the city of Aquileia (*Īkalāya*). And from there its shore in turn curves eastwards towards the lands of Croatia (*Jarwāsiya*), Dalmatia (*Dalmāsiya*), and Esclavonia (*Isqalūniya*) until it joins the Syrian Sea (*al-Baḥr al-Shāmī*).⁶¹

In a similar fashion, al-Idrīsī's text follows the mention of Nītus with that of the cities of Trabzon and Constantinople.⁶² In al-Sharafī's rendition, these detailed descriptions of the seas' coasts and the listing of the cities along them are omitted, and he instead concentrates exclusively on the bodies of water in the atlases.⁶³

However, al-Sharafī's reformulation of al-Idrīsī's universal geography not only involves omitting references to the seas and gulfs. In other instances, our author substitutes his own, usually more condensed, rendition of the descriptions that follow the reference to a given sea. For example, after mentioning the eastern Mediterranean (Syrian Sea; *al-Baḥr al-Shāmī*), he deletes al-Idrīsī's lengthy descriptions of the distances between its islands and his mention of the fact that it begins in what is considered the Fourth Clime.⁶⁴ In their place he inserts two brief passages adapted from the *Nuzha*, which are located in different places in the original work.⁶⁵ This demonstrates not only his focus on the Mediterranean but also the elaborate way in which he composed his texts. Of the sea in question he says:

⁶⁰While in Ptolemaic geography the Black Sea and the Adriatic are considered "seas" (*Ponticum Mare* and *Adriaticum Mare*, respectively), in Islamic cartography all the seas come from the surrounding Dark Sea (*al-Baḥr al-muḥīt al-muḥlim*) and some of them are considered gulfs (*khalīj*, pl. *khuljān*). This applies to both the Black Sea and the Adriatic, which are represented in this way in both al-Idrīsī's circular world map and in al-Sharafī's 1551 atlas. Al-Idrīsī tells us in his introductory text quoted above: 'And each of these seven climes is traversed by seven seas, which are called gulfs (*khuljān*), six of which are contiguous and one of which is not attached to anything...' (Transl. S.B., V.d.C.L., A.T.). See al-Idrīsī (2002), vol. 1, p. 9. However, al-Sharafī was also aware of the European terminology and in the same passage related to the Black Sea he also notes that this *khalīj* of Nītus is also called the Sea of *Kafa*.

⁶¹See al-Idrīsī (2002), vol. 1, p. 11.

⁶²See al-Idrīsī (2002), vol. 1, p. 12.

⁶³See al-Sharafī, BnF, Arabe 2278, fol. 3^r, and Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms Marsh 294, fol. 2^r-3^v.

⁶⁴See al-Idrīsī (2002), vol. 1, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁵The information appears in clime three, first section and in clime four, first section. See al-Idrīsī (2002), vol. 1, p. 221 and vol. 2, p. 525.

The Syrian Sea begins at the Western-Surrounded Sea which is called the Dark Sea (*al-Bahr al-Muẓlim*),⁶⁶ and only God knows what follows the Dark Sea. It is said that in this Western-Surrounded Sea there are 27,000 islands. The Syrian Sea begins at the Strait of Ceuta and [reaches] Syria, and for that reason it is called the Syrian Sea.⁶⁷

In this case, al-Sharafī replaces his source text with a semantically equivalent passage that fits both the needs of the format and the nature of the portolan atlas genre.

Through this strategy, al-Sharafī's product can also be said to reflect a certain degree of "carticity", as defined earlier as an intersemiotic translation process.⁶⁸ The structure of the text, with its sequences of seas and coastal towns, mirrors that of the small circular world map, thus creating a certain interdependency between text and image. Therefore, while the textual choices serve to domesticate the atlases, making them a specifically Mediterranean product, they also serve as a strategy of multi-media translation in which text and map are made to correspond.⁶⁹

Finally, through these same strategies of abridgement and adaptation al-Sharafī manages to square the circle, retaining al-Idrīsī's authority as a solid source of high-level, widely accepted geographical knowledge, while creating his own persona as a successful translator and an inspired creator of a new maritime atlas that is recognizably rooted in his own cultural context.

10.4 Conclusions

Throughout this study we have seen how al-Sharafī's decisions enabled him to construct a recognizable message that permeates his cartographic oeuvre. The model of the portolan atlas defined the way in which al-Sharafī adapted passages

⁶⁶The "Dark Sea" was a common term to refer to the Atlantic Ocean in Islamic geographical works.

⁶⁷ See al-Sharafī, Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms Marsh 294, fol. 3^r.

⁶⁸ See Italiano (2016), pp. 37–38.

⁶⁹ Al-Idrīsī was well aware of the connection between text and image, one of the characteristics of the concept of carticity. At the end of the introduction to the *Nuzha* he explains that the reason for preparing the sectorial charts is to explain the texts: 'And we have entered in each division what belonged to it in the way of towns, districts, and regions so that anyone who looked at it could observe what would normally be hidden from his eyes or would not normally reach his understanding or [what he] would not be able to reach himself because of the impossible nature of the route and the differing nature of the peoples. Thus he can correct this information by looking at it... Now it is clear that when the observer looks at these maps and these countries explained, he sees a true description and pleasing form...' (Transl. S.B., V.d.C.L., A.T.). See Ahmad (1992), pp. 162–163. But in the case of al-Sharafī we see that he carried the concept of carticity beyond the relationship between image and text that appears in al-Idrīsī. As Italiano explains, carticity is here an intersemiotic translation insofar as al-Idrīsī's texts in the atlases are shaped by the charts and by the author's concept, likewise based on cartography. See Italiano (2016), pp. 37–39, 68–71.

from al-Idrīsī's text for his own new product, creating a textual support for his otherwise mostly visual (cartographic and iconographic) enterprise. His most common strategy for adapting the *Nuzha* so as to transform the atlases into a local product was the selective abridgement of quotations. But he also introduced changes into al-Idrīsī's text that were generally neither random nor the result of copying mistakes. Moreover, the texts were modified to harmonize with the format and the visual characteristics of the atlases. On one level, the choice and modification of the texts were intended to respond to spatial challenges such as format and artistic style. On a second level, as we have seen, the texts were clearly selected, reformulated, and modified with semantic and epistemological concerns in mind.

Al-Sharafī's rather frugal use of language was designed to communicate only what was deemed essential for each image or cartographic project. This is why he economized on references to measurements and technical and mathematical language and dispensed with references to the climes when the maps linked to the texts did not exhibit climatic divisions. These same authorial strategies helped create a relationship of interdependence between text and image, which can best be explained by the above-mentioned concept of textual "carticity". In the examples of carticity alluded to by Italiano in his studies on Ariosto, the implication is that a new text is designed from scratch to mirror the image of a map. In our author's case, however, what we see is the adaptation of a pre-existing text (the *Nuzha*), which itself was already intended to accompany a cartographic product, into a portolan atlas with its accompanying text. Thus, while carticity in and of itself already implies a certain kind of media translation, in that the text is designed to reflect the visual elements of the map, in al-Sharafī's adaptation of the *Nuzha* the carticity of his text in relation to his own maps represents a higher layer of translation: that is, the translation/adaptation of al-Idrīsī's text into his own rendition is informed by the design of his own maps, which are themselves hybrid products, displaying features from different mapmaking traditions.

However, the most important aspect of al-Sharafī's textual decisions relates, firstly, to his need to anchor his work within the broad intellectual tradition of geographical knowledge in Classical Arabic, and secondly, to his wish to create a localized Mediterranean product, by favouring references to sea over land, and to the Mediterranean region over other areas of the world. In stark contrast to some Ottoman mapmakers and geographers of his time, for instance, al-Sharafī shows no interest in including the Americas in his cartographic works, most likely because their inclusion would have been inconsistent with the Mediterranean focus of his work.⁷⁰ These two driving forces behind his textual and cartographic enterprise are the most clearly political aspects of his production, insofar as they complementarily allow al-Sharafī to present himself as a cosmopolitan figure able to quote from the masters of the broader Arabic tradition while at the same time

⁷⁰For more on Ottoman cartography, see Goodrich (1986, 1990, 2009), Soucek (2008), Tezcan (2012).

fashioning himself as a North African and Mediterranean erudite and craftsman. It is precisely these politics of authorial self-fashioning that drive and enable al-Sharafī to position his work as distinct and authentic, while still allowing his sources to take center stage. In other words, al-Sharafī's *politics of translation* aimed—in addition to embedding and transforming regional models into local cultural contexts—to cast his own persona as an author, mapmaker, book illustrator, and cultural broker, and to endow his final products with cultural and intellectual authority so that they would be recognized as familiar, valuable, legitimate, and attractive.

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Kapitel 11

Mapping the Ambiguous—Intercultural Encounters in Matteo Ricci’s World Map *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*



Michaela Kästl

11.1 A Room of Encounters: The *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*

In 1584 Wang Pan, the prefect of the city of Zhaoqing, was one of the numerous visitors Matteo Ricci and his Jesuit confrères received in their recently built reception hall. It was the prefect himself who had granted the Jesuits their first official permit to reside permanently in Ming China about a year before, proclaiming that the missionaries were staying with the consent of the authorities.¹ In doing so Wang Pan had made the Jesuit residence as well as its inhabitants and objects inside it an attraction for curious citizens. But while the building was filled with a plethora of objects the ‘Men of the Great Western Country’ (*daxiguoren*) had brought with them, including books, astrolabes, and clocks, it was a world map mounted on the wall that aroused the prefect’s interest, resulting in his entreaty to “make [the] map speak Chinese”.² This seemingly simple request led to the production over a period of two and a half decades of not one but four editions of what are nowadays often called Ricci’s world maps. These maps were revised and added to each time they went into print and each edition was published under a different title and in a different format. Although the aforementioned first edition from 1584 is now lost, the third edition called *Kunyu wanguo quantu* (‘Complete Geographical Map of Ten Thousand Countries’) has survived in three

¹ See Fontana (2011), p. 51.

² Ricci and Trigault (1953), p. 166. See also Zhang (2015), p. 45.

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to four extant copies, one of them held in the Vatican archives. This third edition from 1603 has been the subject of numerous studies in the 20th century and has more recently once again occupied a prominent place in research surrounding the early Jesuit mission in China. They started to take inspiration from the ideas surrounding a cultural and translational turn.³ Until then, it had primarily been interpreted as a reflection of certain power relations, which were first and foremost an expression of Jesuit agency. Translation studies have opened up new perspectives, allowing the map and its production to be examined in more complex ways, since translations or translation processes reveal a multitude of actors who often stand in ambiguous power relationships to each other. These ambiguities will be the focal point of this essay. Regarding the map's specific context, intercultural translations are of special interest, since clear-cut hierarchies between the different actors are not necessarily (re)constructible or even a given in the first place. They overlap and diffuse owing to such translation processes, which can be found in different communicative forms, such as negotiations and accommodation methods.

While an enormous amount has been written on the subject, a significant shift in focus can be observed in the research, changing the basic perception of the map and thus its very nature. The earliest scholarly works, dating back to the turn of the twentieth century, asserted that the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* was a Jesuit production, shaped by the interests of Jesuit missionaries and based solely based on their European knowledge. Such a Eurocentric approach reinforced the dichotomy between a posited superior Western science and its allegedly backward Chinese counterpart, leading to the assumption that every modification or adaptation of knowledge in this one-sided transfer was made deliberately and solely by Ricci and his Jesuits confrères in order to please and gain the trust of the Chinese social elite they sought to convert.⁴ Seen from this perspective, Matteo Ricci had to convey radically new images of the world to his Chinese readers, who could have no place in this history other than that of passive recipients. As a part of this Eurocentric “master narrative”, the map was supposed to be nothing short of a simple merger of Western techniques and knowledge with Chinese style and aesthetics. In a nutshell, it can thus be said that the map, created by one author with the single aim of conversion through accommodation, appears to carry one message and is thus inherently homogenous and unambiguous. But as Chinese sources have become more accessible and a more profound understanding of Chinese science has grown in recent decades, the claim that Jesuit missionaries transferred a superior system of scientific knowledge is being disproven. Although the Jesuits' or Ricci's personal achievements in the creation of the map still figure heavily in most works, recent studies have increasingly started to take Chinese

³For the notion of a translational turn see Bachmann-Medick (2006). For further references see also Triplett (see Chap. 9) and Schrader-Kniffki et al. (see Chap. 4) in this volume.

⁴These works were mostly concerned with locating other authentic copies of the Vatican version, tracing their underlying European source material as well as translating bits and pieces of the Chinese commentaries and annotations. See Day (1995), Baddeley (1917), Giles (1918), Ch'en (1939).

collaborators and their respective motivations as well as their scientific and cultural knowledge into account, creating space for the notion of active Chinese involvement and agency.⁵ This change is closely linked to methodological approaches, which aim to describe and analyse transcultural encounters in which negotiation, communication, and translation processes are deeply entrenched.⁶ In this light, the notion of culture as a process of translation has received increasing attention, framing the accommodation of knowledge in its broadest sense into a translational process between actors from different cultures. On the one hand, it broadens the definition of “translation” to include “Übertragungssituationen”⁷ (‘transmission situations’) alongside purely linguistic and textual translation, locating them not only in language but also in rituals or symbols. On the other hand, when we seek to identify such processes, the different as well as fluid perspectives of the various actors involved, who position themselves in more static cultural structures, become visible.⁸ Returning to recent works dealing with the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, Qiong Zhang and Angelo Cattaneo are the most notable adherents of these ideas.⁹ Cattaneo examined the religious meaning of Jesuit world maps produced in China and asserted the importance of the imagery and specific semantics in cartographic material as stimuli for evangelization. Moreover, Cattaneo criticized the very term “Matteo Ricci’s maps” as outdated, given the current view of the maps as collaborative productions.¹⁰ Zhang offers an important contribution by presenting maps as “spontaneous products of the contact zone”,¹¹ in which various cultural groups advanced their own understandings of the world and represented it according to their own agendas and aspirations. His in-depth reading of the written legends of the map, which have often been neglected in favour of the overall cartographical aspects, gives new insights into the fascination that “the exotic” increasingly exerted on literati in late Ming China as well as illuminating the function of these legends in the creation of the map itself. These studies reflect the currently most crucial questions and findings concerning the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, which form the basis for this article. Instead of a purely Jesuit endeavour, the active cooperation between Matteo Ricci and the so-called erudite gentlemen, such as Li Zhizao, who is often taken as a representative figure

⁵ This focus on the scientific nature of maps still remains prevalent in comparison to cultural and religious exchanges and is reflected in current questions about what kind of influence Jesuit mapmaking had on Chinese cartography and whether mapping in China became increasingly ‘scientific’ over time. See, for example, Yee (1994a, 1994c). For a critical stance on this position, see Hostetler (2001).

⁶ See Pratt (1992), Dürr (2017a), Espagne (2003).

⁷ Bachmann-Medick (2006), p. 247.

⁸ See Burke (2005), Lässig (2012), Bachmann-Medick (2006), Chap. 5.

⁹ Zhang (2015), Cattaneo (2014).

¹⁰ See Cattaneo (2014), especially pp. 71–75.

¹¹ Zhang (2015), p. 37.

for this social group of Chinese literati, is emphasized. Seen in this light, the map fuses Jesuit-European and Chinese knowledge traditions and their respective cartographic representations, which is why it should be embedded into both cultural-historical contexts. However, despite a formal acknowledgement of the intercultural production of the map, its various cartographic elements and inputs are often not interpreted as tangent or even contradictory. Yet if one assumes the map was in fact a collaborative effort between partners with incongruent cultural sources and knowledge, the existence of ambiguities or inconsistencies should be viewed as an opportunity to gain further insights rather than being dismissed as mere errors. Translation studies help to reveal not only the complex nature of intercultural cooperation and the entanglements of its actors but also the simultaneous overlap of different knowledge systems and to show how cultural translations are productive and creative endeavours in their own right. So far, insufficient attention has been paid to how the various types of content have been processed as textual and pictorial components of the map and how they may support but also contradict one another.

The questions I aim to answer are therefore how the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* reflects its own collaborative construction process and how it can thus be interpreted as a room of encounters. Other lines of enquiry include the extent to which the map creates a highly ambiguous space that reflects this intercultural context, and what exactly can be deduced from said ambiguities. Analogous to Qiong Zhang's "contact zone" or Nicolas Standaert's notion of "a space of in-between",¹² the goal is to render the translations and translation processes between the different parties in this specific encounter visible. Based on current trends in the history of cartography, most notably the contributions of John Brian Harley, I will analyse the interplay of selected textual and pictorial components of the map.¹³ In doing so, I argue that the reciprocal transfer of knowledge that underlies this map can be (re)constructed through the conjunction of cartographic and epicartographic elements. This is particularly important, since both elements are necessary to understand the map fully and each carries specific knowledge and information but in different forms. Thus, I consider it especially worthwhile and revealing to examine ambiguities in the map. The textual analysis will be based on the translations of Pasquale M. D'Elia because they are still the only comprehensive transcriptions into any European language. I have compared them with more recent and independently compiled translations of single sections into English by Qiong Zhang whenever available.¹⁴ In the following, I will first offer

¹² See Standaert (2010), here pp. 120–121.

¹³ For some more current and important works, see the contributions in Harley and Woodward (1994), Jacob (1996), Schneider (2018).

¹⁴ See D'Elia (1938), Zhang (2015). All the citations which have been rendered into English for the purpose of this article are thus my own translations. The most often used English translations are Giles (1918), here p. 372, Ch'en (1939) but they remain selective, sometimes leaving out entire passages. As Giles states in his translation work, he dismisses three entire prefaces written by Chinese collaborators, because "they are couched in the ultra-elegant and allusive style affected by Chinese literati in this species of composition", seemingly offering no value for the European reader.

some contextual insights into the early Jesuit mission in China and elucidate the particular knowledge traditions of Matteo Ricci and of the Chinese literati in Late Ming China more generally. This overview will serve to highlight the different topics of interest in the production of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, such as three-dimensionality, science, and religion as well as the close contact between the parties—even outside the actual production process. By zooming in and out of the map and by playing with different levels of focus, diverging or even opposing notions about the world, its cartographic representation, and perceptions of Self and Other are revealed, in their various modifications, mergers, and adaptations. Resulting ambiguities can thus be identified and analysed, revealing the collaboration of several actors whose views coincide or contradict one another to varying degrees. This serves to underline the specific process of mapmaking as a process of accommodation and cultural translation—a process that always involves multiple agents and does not always have to be successful.

11.2 “To Make a Map Speak Chinese”—Matteo Ricci and the Early Jesuit Mission

The production of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* can basically be understood from two perspectives, whereby the Jesuit one is somewhat more extensive owing to the larger and more familiar volume of source material. This includes questions about cosmology, its religious implications and accommodation. Concerning the perspective of the Chinese scholars, it is fruitful to ask why they allowed the Jesuits to take up residence at all and why they were so fascinated with European maps that they commissioned several of them.

Matteo Ricci remains one of the most prominent figures in the early stages of the Jesuit mission in China, being the first Jesuit to enter and stay in the Ming capital Beijing, although he was not the first European to set foot on Chinese soil as part of the missionary enterprise. Having joined the Jesuit order in 1572, Ricci had studied natural philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, geography, cartography, and other subjects at the Roman College.¹⁵ At that time cartography or mapmaking was not a field of study in its own right but was taught as part of the mathematical sciences, astronomy, and geography in Jesuit colleges and academies.¹⁶ At the time of Ricci’s education, Ptolemy’s principles dominated the teaching of mathematics in Europe inside and outside the Jesuit order. In the context of mapmaking, an analysis of this Ptolemaic system included calculating and representing the spherical nature of the Earth based on latitudinal and

¹⁵ Fontana (2011), Chap. 1.

¹⁶ Cosgrove (2010), p. 103. See also Woodward (1987), pp. 7–8, Udías (2015), pp. 116–117; Cormack (1987), p. 630, Chen (2007), p. 521, Saladin (2020), pp. 45–46.

longitudinal lines and drawing different projections to represent a spherical Earth on a flat surface.¹⁷ At the same time, throughout Central and Western Europe the momentum of this mathematical approach was intertwined with efforts to explore and understand the world and nature as a means to discover God.¹⁸ Cartography was therefore closely connected with religion, and indeed the study of mathematics itself was considered necessary to understand nature and heaven “by visualization and sensibility”¹⁹—a philosophical means to a religious end rooted in Aristotelian natural philosophy, which established a direct link between spirituality and the observation of nature.²⁰ Traced back to the Spiritual Exercises of the founder of the *Societas Jesu* Ignatius of Loyola, visualization is described as one central feature in religious contemplation, leading to a knowledge of God by locating him in all living beings and even in human actions.²¹ All these aspects came together in Jesuit world maps, which “were not only a visual image of geographical configuration but [...] paved the way towards the comprehension of the Creator’s significance”.²² The imagination and visualization of spaces as well as people and their experiences were therefore considered crucial for understanding Jesuit maps.²³ In accordance with the knowledge traditions in which Jesuits like Matteo Ricci can be squarely placed, cartography combined the linguistic, scientific, and cultural components of an accommodation method promoted by Ricci and others, and could thus ideally be used to open up a dialogue about Christianity and God, through the calculation, depiction, and visualization of the world. Accommodation, or sometimes an accommodation strategy, broadly meant the cultural adaption to and the analysis of a variety of local circumstances, often including an adjustment to the overall life-style of the Chinese elite, especially through language acquisition or the use of “indirect” propagation tools such as science and technology, in order to arouse interest and gain trust.²⁴ Since the Jesuits considered China to be rich in history, culture, and tradition, accommodation was deemed necessary in order to engage the Chinese in a conversation about Christianity and ultimately to fulfil the Jesuit mission of conversion.²⁵ This is why accommodation most essentially includes translation processes, since it is based on literal translations in the form of language

¹⁷ Woodward (1987), pp. 12–15, Cosgrove (2010), pp. 104–107.

¹⁸ See among many others Cosgrove (1987), p. 57.

¹⁹ Chen (2007), p. 517.

²⁰ See Cosgrove (1987), p. 58, Chen (2007), pp. 544–545, 548.

²¹ See Saladin (2020), pp. 40–43, Chen (2007), p. 552, Udías (2015), pp. 237–238.

²² Chen (2007), pp. 537–538.

²³ The term ‘Jesuit maps’ is to be taken literally at this point, in the sense of maps produced by or with the help of a member of the Jesuit order. It does not imply a homogenous group of maps with fixed characteristics. On this point, see Batchelor (2019), p. 2.

²⁴ Von Collani (2004), pp. 105–107, Fontana (2012), p. 24. Standaert (2010) reviews four central aspects of Jesuit accommodation critically.

²⁵ See Dürr (2017b), p. 493, Fontana, (2012), p. 24.

acquisition and cultural translations through accommodation to (knowledge) systems, cultural practices, and the like. This is why it plays an important part in the production of the map. Accordingly, although accommodation was a Jesuit endeavour, it actually leads directly to the Chinese perspective and reveals what it was that the missionaries sought to accommodate themselves to.

For many Jesuits the city of Macao often offered the first direct contact with Chinese language and culture, as can be seen in the case of Matteo Ricci, who spent most of his time studying the spoken and written language of Mandarin as well as gathering some basic information about the political and social structure of the Chinese Empire and its customs.²⁶ Ricci's dedicated approach to learning the Chinese language and becoming familiar with Chinese culture at the very least allowed him to discuss various subjects with the acquaintances he made.²⁷ But in the end, it was Wang Pan, the prefect of Zhaoqing, who first voiced an interest in the maps the Jesuits had brought with them from Europe. He even commissioned the first edition of "Ricci's world maps", called the *Yudi shanhai quantu*, and granted Ricci and his confreres permission to set up the first ever Jesuit residence on the Chinese mainland a year prior to the request.²⁸ Actually, no such permit was granted at all until 1583, despite the Jesuits' avid efforts. And even after Ricci and Ruggieri had been in China for more than ten years, there was still no guarantee that they would be able to settle in any town or province of their choice or to travel freely around the country, as Ricci's energetic and in some cases failed attempts in Nanjing and Beijing show.²⁹ At the same time, it was a Chinese scholar who would commission and actively shape the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* later on. To explain why despite all the hardships Ricci and Ruggieri succeeded in establishing the Jesuit mission in China, a change of perspective is needed. This should also shed some light on why a member of the Chinese elite such as Wang Pan would have extended such a privilege to them. Contrary to the notion of Chinese scientific and cultural isolation, recent scholarship suggests not only a resurgent interest of the Chinese literati in the "exotic"—in which the Jesuits themselves but also the objects they carried with them must surely have been included—but also an intellectual shift in the knowledge discourse between

²⁶On the difficulties of language learning see Fontana (2011), pp. 34–37. Brockey argues similarly, using the example of Michele Ruggieri, cf. Brockey (2007), pp. 30–32.

²⁷See, for example, Fontana (2012), p. 26. The considerable number of visitors the Jesuits received in their dwellings has been a common focus of all analyses of the early Jesuit mission in China. In this case, Ricci is considered to be a prime example of a person who formed various long-term acquaintances and friendships, devoting much attention to them, even at inconvenient times. Cf. Fontana (2011), p. 271.

²⁸Brockey (2007), p. 41; Hsia (2010), pp. 78–81, 87, Zhang (2015), p. 45, Cattaneo (2014), p. 73.

²⁹See, for example, Fontana (2011), Chap. 7 on Nanjing and Chaps. 13 and 14 on Beijing.

scholars that coincided with the arrival of the Jesuits. These *bowu junzi* or “erudite gentlemen” “investigated [...] primarily strange and rare objects [...] [and] were no longer satisfied with merely reading about such things in books but wished to investigate them in situ, interview eyewitnesses, and, if possible, collect such objects for display”.³⁰ In this manner, knowledge about a variety of exotica would be re-examined in a practice-oriented way, depending on individual interests or tastes.³¹ Mapmaking was one part of this trend of evidential research (*kaozheng*), together with other aspects of Chinese (visual) culture, such as astronomy, geography, and philosophy, which were likewise central fields of interest.

Whether knowingly or not, the Jesuits offered these erudite gentlemen an opportunity for a first-hand encounter with the “strange and exotic”—an interest which they shared and tried, in turn, to use to their advantage. One of the erudite gentlemen they worked with was a scholar by the name of Li Zhizao, whom Ricci met after his arrival in the capital Beijing in 1601.³² In Ricci’s preface to the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, Li is described as having had a particular interest in geography, even before his encounter with Ricci, having for example published a map of China’s fifteen provinces together with geographical descriptions.³³ His avid interest in both cartography and geography sparked an intensive relationship with the Jesuit, especially over the course of the following year. According to Ricci, Li spent ‘a whole year conducting a thorough, painstaking, diligent, and uninterrupted examination’,³⁴ after the former had taught the Chinese literati about the spherical nature of the Earth. The collaborative studies of Li and Ricci, which included the subjects of mathematics and astronomy, led most notably to the production of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*. Once again one of “Ricci’s maps” was produced at the behest of a member of the Chinese elite, but this time quite literally on a much larger scale.³⁵

³⁰Zhang (2015), p. 39. Zhang also argues that this fascination was not new, but rather part of a longstanding discourse about the exotic. Cf. Zhang (2015), pp. 41–43. See also Standaert (2010), p. 115.

³¹See Zhang (2015), pp. 39–43.

³²Cf. Liu (2011).

³³Cf. D’Elia (1938), Tavola XVIII: “Il Signor Lingozzuen, addetto al Ministero [dei Lavori Pubblici], il quale già prima si era consacrato allo studio della geografia ed aveva da se stesso composto un libro per gli alunni [...]”. See also Liu (2015), p. 150.

³⁴D’Elia (1938), Tavola XVIII: “Dopo un anno intero di esame, approfondito, minuzioso, diligente e ininterrotto [della mia carta] [i.e. Li, M.K.], disgustato della piccolezza della carta da lui stampata prima [i.e. Li, M.K.], la quale non arrivava nemmeno a un decimo della carta modello che io [Ricci, M.K.] avevo portato dall’Occidente, concepì il disegno di rifarla e di amplificarla [i.e. Li, M.K.]”.

³⁵D’Elia (1938), Tavola XVIII; Liu (2015), p. 150.

11.3 Encountering the Ambiguous—An Analysis

11.3.1 *Describing the Map*

Following the current consensus of scholars of the history of cartography, maps should not be considered objective, neutral, and “scientific” in nature, but subjective and selective modes of representation and of conveying information. Recent scholarship has thus distanced itself from a linear progressive model, which was previously applied to early modern maps from Europe as well as China.³⁶ Furthermore, it has been suggested, that rather like texts, cartographic representations can establish an individual semiotic system of meaning, between the symbol, the referent, and the reference. In fact, many if not most early modern maps consist not only of the graphic image but more importantly of textual information, which may either be incorporated into the image itself or else accompany it in the form of textual corpora like a book.³⁷ And even if such a distinction between the visual and the textual cannot be as easily or clearly established as one might suppose, it is the relationship and interplay between these elements which form the map as a whole. Neither should be neglected in favour of the other, as they are both major constituents of the reference system they build, which is fundamentally based on the translation of words, concepts, and their references in the given culture.³⁸ In such a system, graphic signs may not only store this knowledge but also transmit an understanding of it by communicating it to the reader. In order to extract the knowledge the sign holds in relation to its exterior form, it is essential to read signs in their respective cultural and historical context.³⁹ This seems to be especially interesting, since geography and therefore cartography as well were taught as a part of the education in rhetoric that the Jesuits received. As visual and material objects that were not unlike textual corpora, they were positioned in a network of literary and cartographic sources, which were collected, compared, and combined.⁴⁰ A similar observation can be made for Chinese cartographic material. With its focus on the compilation, comparison, and analysis of textual source material, textuality was an important aspect in traditional Chinese cartography, alongside more quantitative

³⁶ See especially Yee (1994a), (1994b), pp. 97–99, 104–106, Sivin and Ledyard (1994), pp. 28–29, Smith (2013), p. 51.

³⁷ Sivin and Ledyard (1994), pp. 27, 29, Smith (2013), pp. 54–55.

³⁸ The difficulty of making a clear distinction is reflected by the ambiguity of the Chinese word for map “*Tu*”, which can also mean picture, diagram, chart, or table. See Sivin and Ledyard (1994), pp. 26–27, Yee (1994b), p. 127.

³⁹ See Bertin (2011), pp. 8–10; Harley (2001), especially pp. 35–37. For the concept of maps as a repository of knowledge see Schneider (2018), pp. 12–18. On the importance of contextualization see Schneider (2018), pp. 7–8.

⁴⁰ Saladin (2020), p. 46.

or observational strategies.⁴¹ This is further reflected by the fact that cartography was not considered to be an isolated endeavour and therefore cartographers were not regarded as professionals per se. Since all these aspects were part of the educational background of the Chinese literati, they were often scholars, painters, or poets.⁴² Cartography was deeply embedded in Chinese visual culture, so contemporary Chinese maps mostly include a larger body of text than their European counterparts.

The *Kunyu wanguo quantu* was published in 1602, printed on woodblocks by the artist Zhang Wentao in Beijing, and sponsored by Li Zhizao.⁴³ The map spans six panels, with a total height of 170 cm and a width of 381 cm, depicting the entire 360 degrees of longitude and 180 degrees of latitude in an oval projection of the Earth. The main layout also includes four single illustrations in each corner of the map. Viewed clockwise from the upper right, they are titled ‘Diagram of the Nine Heavens’, ‘The Armillary Sphere’, ‘The Image of the Southern Hemisphere’, and ‘The Image of the Northern Hemisphere’. Moreover, the map includes a variety of textual annotations, ranging from descriptions of different places and their names to individual comments on and prefaces to the more pictorial elements. The legends are written exclusively in Chinese characters and embedded into the map, which means there is no supplementary text accompanying it.

11.3.2 Zooming Out

If one zooms out completely, one of the major features of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* comes into view: namely, the shape of the Earth. Both the epicartographic and cartographic elements of the map are primarily concerned with the spherical nature of the Earth and they approach this in three different ways. Firstly, the overall projection and its oval form are important, since they are based on the Ptolemaic system the Jesuits introduced to the Chinese, reflecting their attempts at conversion through visualization. Secondly, since the cartographic representation still left room to accommodate or allude to Chinese cartographic traditions, less ambiguous pictorial material was needed. For example, the images of the two hemispheres reinforces more clearly the notion of a global sphere as the Jesuits knew it than the projection alone does. Thirdly, and finally, the textual annotations, which give further information on both aspects, can relativize a reading of the map based on these Ptolemaic-Aristotelian concepts, because they incorporate Chinese interests and their independent (cultural) knowledge system. This entanglement of knowledge and interests results in several ambiguities, which can be interpreted

⁴¹ Yee (1994b), pp. 105, 109, 113, 126.

⁴² Smith (2013), p. 52, Sivin and Ledyard (1994), p. 29.

⁴³ Zhang (2015), p. 47.

with the help of translation studies, or to be more precise, by trying to identify and reconstruct the translation processes behind the map.

Concerning the first of the two aspects, I have already discussed the fact that a central function of the world maps produced by the Jesuits was to visualize the world in order to see the truth of God and therefore of Christianity. These maps were used as a sort of educational tool, introducing potential converts to *tianxue* or ‘heavenly studies’. As these studies centred on the Aristotelian principle of understanding nature through mathematical science, different levels of translation processes can be found: literal, linguistic, but also various forms of cultural translation.⁴⁴ Depicting the world as a globe is thus certainly one of the most fundamental steps towards this goal. In accordance with this approach, the world in the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* is framed in an oval form, in line with the Ptolemaic projection used in its depiction. The use of a graticule to create a grid of lines of longitude and latitude covering the entire map makes this highly visible, even if they only mark every tenth degree rather than every one.⁴⁵ For an Italian Jesuit missionary at the time, Ptolemy’s system was inextricably linked to several assumptions about the world, such as the existence of different time and climate zones and most notably, the spherical shape of the Earth.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the projection itself reflects how mankind might in practice perceive the significance of God, namely by understanding a cartographical representation of the Earth based on mathematical principles. The viewpoint of the reader is orthogonally elevated into a sphere that is usually reserved for the transcendental—in this case the Christian God—and therefore allows man to look upon the Earth with an “Apollonian Gaze”, to behold the entire Earth at one glance without having to move at all.⁴⁷ But to what extent do the cartographic elements contained in the oval frame actually communicate such an understanding of the world to a mainly Chinese readership, which had previously adhered to mapmaking techniques that did not require the use of projections at all? The cultural knowledge needed to connect a given symbol like a latitudinal line with a specific reference and referent, like the curvature of the Earth’s surface, is rooted in a European understanding of the world and how it should be represented. Without additional input or further specification, it does not stand to reason that these connections would be made by Chinese readers, who espoused their own views of the Earth based on their cultural knowledge. On the contrary, according to Ricci, the two-dimensional nature of the plane seems to hold the possibility of “misinterpretation”, as it might well suggest that the Earth is flat. Ricci states explicitly in his preface that ‘it is difficult to understand at first glance why the Earth, which is in fact shaped like a ball, is represented on this map as a flat

⁴⁴ Chen (2007), Zhang (2015), p. 49.

⁴⁵ D’Elia (1938), Tavola IV.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Zhang (2015), p. 93 and chap. 2.1 for further references.

⁴⁷ Cosgrove (2010), p. 114. See also Jacob (1996), p. 193.

surface',⁴⁸ implying that he anticipated problems regarding the graphic depiction of the map.

Turning to the second pictorial aspect, Ricci indirectly alludes in this statement to the prevalence of the “round heaven, square earth” model in the Chinese cartographic discourse of the time. In doing so, he acknowledges that the Chinese have their own methods and concepts of how best to represent the Earth and for what purpose, which strongly influence the way in which the map is understood—not apparently always in the way the Jesuits would have liked it to be. The “round heaven, square earth” model (*tianyuan defang*) was arguably the most important basic theoretical framework for representations of the world and therefore China—not exclusively but especially during the Late Ming—included the subcategories of Vaulted Heaven (*gaitian shuo*) and Spherical Heaven (*huntian shuo*).⁴⁹ In both cases, sphericity is an exclusive attribute of heaven, whether this means covering the Earth like a dome or encompassing it as a circular sphere. In these concepts, the Earth itself was described as a flat surface, surrounded and united by the Four Seas.⁵⁰ As such, rigid geometric calculations and the use of projections were not necessary to transform the shape of the Earth into a two-dimensional plane.⁵¹ And while recent studies have suggested that Chinese cosmological and therefore cartographic traditions cannot simply be reduced to this model, and that these conceptions were also the subject of debate at various times, there is no indication that Chinese mapmakers did in practice consider a “round earth” concept to be a valid approach. Moreover, even if some theories allowed for different readings, as has been argued in the case of a variation of the Spherical Heaven theory attributed to the polymath Zhang Heng, the notion of a flat Earth still remained one plausible option and could still be incorporated. This theory states that “the enveloping heavens are like a chicken egg, and the celestial form is round like a crossbow pellet; *the Earth is like an egg yolk, occupying the centre alone*”.⁵² This does not specify the shape of the Earth and thus leaves room for interpretation.⁵³ In a similar manner, the oval projection in itself may not necessarily have ruled out the “round heaven, square earth” model but rather left enough space to accommodate a two-dimensional, flat terrestrial surface. Furthermore, we should remember that the issue of what shape the Earth is was also embedded in Chinese cultural history and in a cosmological as well as geopolitical discourse about China as an ideal state and the power of its sovereign. According to source material dating back to the early Zhou, the Chinese emperor in Late Ming China

⁴⁸D’Elia (1938), Tavola IV: “Però è difficile capire a prima vista perchè la terra, che ha difatti la forma di una palla, su questa carta sia rappresentata come sopra una superficie piana.” [Here and in the following transl. M.K.]

⁴⁹Zhang (2015), pp. 119, 121.

⁵⁰Smith (2013), p. 53, Yee (1994b), p. 124, Zhang (2015), pp. 119, 121.

⁵¹Sivin and Ledyard (1994), p. 30, Yee (1994c), p. 171.

⁵²Yee (1994b), p. 118.

⁵³Yee (1994b), pp. 117–124, especially 124, Zhang (2015), pp. 57–59.

was considered to have received a Mandate of Heaven, that granted him universal sovereignty over his empire. However, the power of the Son of Heaven came with the responsibility of ensuring harmony between the celestial and terrestrial world, which in traditional Chinese cosmological thought were two connected and interacting realms.⁵⁴ Thus, it seems reasonable to argue that the implications of such notions as the Apollonian Gaze may not have been perceived as the Jesuits might have intended. Once more, their argumentation is based on specific cultural knowledge, in this case, the strict separation of heaven and Earth in Christian thought, which would not be apparent to Chinese readers without specific input. Only if one takes other elements like the depiction of the two hemispheres into account does such an interpretation become harder to sustain. In comparison with the cartographic aspects, they do not allow easy reinterpretations concerning the spherical nature of the Earth. Accordingly, Ricci himself mentions in his preface that he ‘made a map of the two hemispheres, of which one contains all that is north of the equator, and the other all that is south of it, the two poles occupying the centre of the circle, in order that the simultaneous view of them may make it a little easier to understand what the true shape of the Earth resembles.’⁵⁵

Finally, it becomes quite clear, that while epicartographic elements such as the drawing of the two hemispheres accord with Ricci’s statement, as they visualize a top and a bottom half of the Earth, complete with a depiction of the North and South Poles, it is in fact mainly the textual legends that convey the notion of its sphericity. For instance, the general introduction explains that, ‘Actually, a globe, confusingly, has neither top nor bottom for if someone is in the celestial [system], what can he look at but the sky? In general, too, everything in the universe on which one sets foot is low, and everything towards which one raises one’s head is high.’⁵⁶ A similar pattern can again be observed in the same introduction, where the aforementioned egg metaphor is adapted: ‘The land and the sea are both spherical. Together they form a single globe situated at the centre of celestial spheres, like the yolk in a hen’s egg which is surrounded by the white.’⁵⁷ These are just two examples in which the written annotations elaborate on the visualized statement that the Earth is a globe and add further information. In his preface, for example, Ricci turns more directly to the importance of visualization, stating that the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* functions for the reader ‘as a tool for travelling while

⁵⁴ Zhang (2015), pp. 108–109.

⁵⁵ D’Elia (1938), Tavola XVIII.

⁵⁶ D’Elia (1938), Tavola IV. Similarly, Zhang (2015), p. 63.

⁵⁷ For the translation see D’Elia (1938), Tavola XVIII; similarly, Zhang (2015), p. 57. Zhang has already extensively shown that the chosen information is not arbitrarily attributed but reflects certain aspects of Chinese cosmological thought, which would arguably have been known to Chinese readers of the map, and was changed to accommodate the Jesuits’ understanding of the world. See Zhang (2015), pp. 57–63.

reclining in one's study.⁵⁸ Immediately afterwards Ricci adds: 'Oh! Travelling through all the realms, without even leaving the room, must be not of little use for the experience.'⁵⁹ He thus stressed how the Jesuits considered the ability to visualize places one has not actually visited before as one of the major tasks of the map. In this case the human vision is central and indispensable for understanding Heaven, underlining that although hearing and the other senses certainly played a part as well, it is the sense of sight that was argued to be the first among the five senses.⁶⁰

The importance of the notion that the Earth is a sphere and the deductions resulting from this is highlighted by the large number of annotations containing geographical and mathematical descriptions or the calculation of natural phenomena, such as solar and lunar eclipses. However, while these texts certainly depend on their readers' ability to reason in order to understand, verify, and apply them, they do not necessarily presuppose an in-depth understanding of Aristotelian logic. In addition, the religious implications derived from physical sciences that Jesuits like Matteo Ricci would have discerned are not inherently deductible without the corresponding cultural background knowledge. Instead, the information provided perfectly complements the potential interests of Chinese collaborators and readers alike, suggesting that they actively shaped the production of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* as well, guiding and participating in the negotiations over what the map was to convey. For instance, the prediction and calculation of celestial phenomena was considered essential by the Chinese emperor in order to regulate the balance between the world and the universe. Anomalies, like solar or lunar eclipses, had to be accounted for by imperial astronomers, as they might otherwise be regarded as a sign of abuse of political power that could even lead to the loss of the emperor's political authority.⁶¹ The widespread importance of this whole complex was without doubt known to Li Zhizao, who had himself passed the competitive exams and had published several Confucian works over the course of his life.⁶² Combined with his proclaimed avid interest in mapmaking and geography it would certainly be conceivable that he considered the mathematical and scientific annotations to be of interest to Chinese readers, regardless of whether he or they were aware of their spiritual connotations. This idea seems even more plausible if we consider that apart from two citations, which are to be found in Ricci's personal preface, there is only one short phrase in the descriptive paragraph of Europe dedicated to the existence

⁵⁸ D'Elia (1938), Tavola XVIII: "Tutto l'insieme forma sei quadri di gran paravento e può essere considerato come uno strumento per viaggiare, pur restando sdraiato nel proprio gabinetto di studio."

⁵⁹ D'Elia (1938), Tavola XVIII: "Eh! Percorrere tutti i regni, senza nemmeno uscire dalla sala, non deve essere di poca utilità per l'esperienza."

⁶⁰ Chen (2007), p. 552.

⁶¹ Cf. Fontana (2011), p. 60.

⁶² Liu (2015), p. 153.

of a Christian God, mentioning that all Europeans ‘follow the holy faith of the Lord of Heaven.’⁶³ These are also the only instances in which the map explicitly draws a connection between an understanding of the Earth and heaven and the recognition of the Lord of Heaven and the idea that in turning to God, one finds the way towards science.⁶⁴ Otherwise there are no direct or indirect references in the textual legends to the existence of a Christian god. On the one hand this provides further evidence that the religious knowledge required for conversion was practically not accessible without the guidance of a member of the Jesuits but that it was still prevalent from their perspective. On the other hand, the lack of references to Christianity beyond Ricci’s own preface supports the assumption that this specifically European knowledge as introduced by the Jesuits was not in fact needed to read and understand the map and that it was not of primary interest to the Chinese collaborators, who were able instead to include what they deemed important. For example, Ricci’s statement that the map allows the reader to travel around the world and visualize its countries and people could just as easily be attributed to the Chinese intellectuals and their interest in the “exotic” and in learning or studying through experience. There are several annotations that support this argument. In the general introduction to the map, Ricci references the spherical nature of the Earth, but this time he supports his arguments not with calculations but instead with the personal observations he made while sailing round the Cape of Good Hope: ‘Yet when I raised my head, I could only see the sky at the top and could not see it at the bottom. Therefore, to say that the Earth is round and that all over its surface there are men is a proposition worth accepting.’ In other instances, he refers to his travels, describing how he had been requested in Zhaoqing ‘to make a map of all the kingdoms through which [he] had passed, in order to preserve [his] memory for posterity’;⁶⁵ indeed, he even marks his hometown Macerata in Italy, the starting point of his lifelong journey so to speak. Combined with the information provided by the written notes on the customs and products of the various countries, the map captures first-hand accounts of the “exotic” world, among other things, in which erudite gentlemen such as Li Zhizao would have had an avid interest. This is why one can find a retelling of Ricci’s personal experiences in Li’s own preface.⁶⁶

⁶³ Translation from D’Elia (1938), Tavola XXIV; Zhang (2015), p. 78. The difficulties of translating Christian terms such as ‘god’ are not specific to the China mission, but certainly apply here as well. See, for example, Dürr (2010), pp. 185–186, Schemmel (2012), p. 255. With regard to the Jesuit mission in China, the question of terminology culminated in the Rites Controversy shortly after Ricci’s death in 1610. See, for example, Von Collani (2004), pp. 118–121.

⁶⁴ D’Elia (1938), Tavola XVIII: “La bontà consiste a purificare e ad amputare i cattivi germi, per desiderio di arrivare a Colui che è assolutamente buono. Perciò chi neglige le cose di poca importanza, si affretta ad occuparsi delle grandi e diminuisce la moltitudine [delle ansietà] per far ritorno a Colui che è assolutamente uno, è quasi arrivato alla scienza.”

⁶⁵ D’Elia (1938), Tavola IV: “I letterati del Kwangtung mi pregarono di fare la carta di tutti i regni per i quali io ero passato, per tramandarne intatto il ricordo [ai posteri].”

⁶⁶ D’Elia (1938), Tavola XII; Tavola X; Tavola XIV.

11.3.3 *Zooming In*

Zooming in on more detailed components of the map, with a focus on the overall positioning and epicartographic as well as cartographic depictions of China and Europe, it becomes even more apparent how the Chinese literati and the source material they provided shaped the representation of the Earth and China's position on it in major ways. Two central conclusions can be drawn: firstly, the pictorial as well as the textual information on China reinforce one another in depicting it as a cultural centre. Its representation is not only the most detailed and densely annotated on the whole map, but the information used to reinforce this perspective either derives from Chinese knowledge or from European knowledge selected, adapted, and accommodated to fit into this narrative. Secondly, Europe is mainly defined through its similarities to China and is portrayed as seeking to create ties between the two through self-adaptation. While the textual description evinces efforts at accommodation, the cartographic representation of Europe stands in stark contrast not only to its annotations but also the visualization of China it tries to mimic. This creates an ambiguous relationship between the textual and pictorial elements, emphasizing once more that the map cannot be reduced to a single reading, since it combines information and interests that are not always easily assignable.

Firstly, one of the aspects of China's representation most frequently mentioned is its position near the centre of the plane. This is achieved by relocating the prime meridian from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, pushing Europe to the outer left margin of the map and the Americas to the outer right. Scholars have argued that Ricci deliberately repositioned China to accommodate what he perceived to be a Sinocentric perspective prominent in Chinese mapmaking and the Chinese perception of themselves as the Middle Kingdom (*Zhongguo*).⁶⁷ This concept of the Middle Kingdom, which was easily applicable to a flat and square Earth, is actually not compatible with the model of a spherical earth, because the surface of the globe does not possess a centre at all. However, since the Jesuits considered an understanding of the Earth as spherical as central to the task of conversion to Christianity, the geographical position of China needed to be altered if they wanted to retain points of reference for their readership. This seems all the more likely as an identical pattern can be observed in the "Diagram of the Nine Heavens" in the upper left corner of the map, which shows a geocentric system of the universe, which likewise puts China in the middle of the two-dimensional depiction of the globe. What is interesting, however, is something that the cartographic representation of the Middle Kingdom hardly takes into account, namely, that this concept implies much more than just a central geographical position. It is just as much an intrinsic part of Chinese cultural knowledge as the notion of a spherical Earth is of European scientific

⁶⁷Yee (1994c), pp. 171–172, Foss (2016), p. 22, Song (2019), p. 196.

and religious knowledge, which would not necessarily be easily accessible to foreigners and was thus open to misunderstandings. Scholars have argued that the concept of the Middle Kingdom was highly reflective of a Chinese cultural imperative that implied cultural or political centrality and primacy, reflected in the classification of other peoples within and outside China who were all expected to pay tribute to the Son of Heaven.⁶⁸ This specific cultural knowledge would only have been accessible either through the use of Chinese source material or through personal conversations with Chinese intellectuals who had studied the many classical canonical texts. Thus, it is initially understandable when Ricci states that the map had been drawn ‘with the help of the papers and books [he] had brought with [him], and the notes and investigations [he] had accumulated over many years’,⁶⁹ not mentioning any Chinese input at all, as was quite common for European texts at the time. But although scholars were not able to trace all the source materials used, it is certainly clear that the geographical depiction of China in this way would not have been possible without the abundance of Chinese cartographic works and their collected data, as the Jesuits did not embark on the task of land surveying themselves.⁷⁰ Considering how numerous and detailed the representation of coastlines or mountain ranges is—not to mention the depiction of the Great Wall of China, the only landmark on the entire map that is meticulously traced—the influence of the Chinese collaborators can hardly be doubted.

If one zooms in closer onto China itself, it becomes apparent how the epicartographic elements and written textual legends actually underline its cultural importance in congruence to the cartographic representation by adhering to aspects of traditional Chinese mapmaking. The general description of China, for example, stresses its cultural importance quite overtly: ‘China is a kingdom renowned for the splendour of its civilization. [...] The surrounding tributary countries are numerous.’⁷¹ This further supports the assumption that the Middle Kingdom was first and foremost considered to be a cultural centre, a position which could only be established in relation to other countries, more precisely all those who paid tribute to the Son of Heaven. The tributary countries are said to be numerous, emphasizing how far-reaching the Chinese sphere of influence was perceived to be, although they are not all visually marked as such. While this may seem contradictory at first, it is still in line with the argumentation presented so far. The description of China sheds some more light on this issue. It mentions that

⁶⁸Yee (1994c), pp. 171–174, Zhang (2015), pp. 109–113.

⁶⁹D’Elia (1938), Tavola XVIII: “Benchè [la stampa] della carta fosse stata fatta con l’aiuto delle carte e dei libri che avevo portato con me, e con gli appunti e le investigazioni che avevo accumulato durante vari anni, pure come mai la traduzione fattane dell’Incaricato degli stranieri sarebbe stata scevra da ogni errore?”.

⁷⁰Zhang distinguishes the usage of symbolic maps, grid-based maps, and maritime narratives. For an enumeration of Chinese source material see also Zhang (2015), pp. 55–56.

⁷¹D’Elia (1938), Tavola XVI.

‘this General Map contains brief indications of mountains and rivers, provinces, and intendancies; for the remainder, which cannot be found here, see the *Annali Generali* and *Annali Provinciali*,’⁷² reflecting how information on the Middle Kingdom, which also included its tributary states, had already been gathered and collected by the Chinese themselves. The Chinese reader might thus either have already been familiar with those sources or could, as stated, have accessed the information themselves. To tie everything together, in their prefaces Li Zhizao and the other Chinese collaborators all refer either to the atlases, or to the *Annali Generali*, or else to other Chinese cartographic works to explain the differences the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* exhibits, stating that they had not only assumed that the authors and the cited material would be known, but had based their further reflections on an already existing network of sources, which were not simply discarded.⁷³ Thus it is reasonable to assume that, although Chinese self-representation certainly had a place in this space of encounter, the main point of interest was not a detailed repetition of information about China that would already have been known.

China’s specific position on the Earth in relation to other countries is evident from the sheer number of textual annotations placed in and around the country on the map, ranging from general descriptions, to the names of the nine provinces, towns and villages, mountain ranges, and bodies of water. No other country is annotated in so much detail or praised so highly for its culture. On the contrary, in many cases, either no information about the country or region is provided at all apart from its name, or the descriptions of the inhabitants reveal that they were considered “inferior” with respect to certain cultural practices. This applies, for instance, to the written annotations dedicated to North and South America, the very first to be published in cartographical form in China. One common feature of the descriptions of other countries is the assertion that they lack knowledge of agriculture. The people of Peru, for example, supposedly ‘do not know how to cultivate fields, but the inhabitants live off every kind of fruit’.⁷⁴ This must have posed a striking contrast to the self-perception of the Chinese, who in Ming China held agriculture in high esteem.⁷⁵ By describing the Other in this way the map underlined China’s own prosperity and central role to the Chinese reader and its perception of Self. However, one should remember that all the information on the Americas would have been gathered from European source material. Since the Chinese had not known of its existence before, it was the Jesuits who had contributed to this construct. In this way, the selection of information attributed to the Other creates points of reference for Chinese readers while simultaneously

⁷² D’Elia (1938), Tavola XVI.

⁷³ D’Elia (1938), Tavola XII; Tavola X; Tavola XIV.

⁷⁴ D’Elia (1938), Tavola X. Similar observations can be made about the description of Canada and some islands in the Arctic.

⁷⁵ See Yee (1994b), p. 97, Hansen (2015), p. 347.

satisfying their interest in the “exotic”.⁷⁶ Various descriptions of strange lands and people, like the Land of Dwarves or tribal groups to the north of China, with both European and Chinese origins, further support this assumption.⁷⁷ Moreover, by deliberately casting the Other as “exotic”, the relationship between China and Europe is further enhanced.

Secondly, the cartographic and epicartographic representation of Europe cannot be understood in terms of the “exotic”, even though the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* is often described as an “exotic” object itself, having been produced by the Jesuits, who were themselves unknown and curious strangers.⁷⁸ Instead, the representation reflects the creation of a Jesuit Self in the missionary context, which tries to establish Europe as another cultural centre alongside China through the use of cultural translations. For instance, in contrast to the criticism of agricultural standards in the strange and “exotic” lands, Europe is said to produce an abundance of agrarian goods, indicating its wealthy position in the world: ‘The region produces five cereals, five metals, and every kind of fruit.’⁷⁹ Later on, the text states even more explicitly that ‘products are very abundant. Rulers and subjects are powerful and rich’.⁸⁰ These statements about Europe’s economic prosperity highlight two more central aspects deeply embedded in Chinese culture and the connection between them. The annotation links the fortunes of their lands with their knowledge of the Earth and heavens, by adding directly after the enumeration of their agricultural products: ‘All craftsmanship is excellent. Astronomy and philosophy are studied. In everyday life the five relationships are very much adhered to.’⁸¹ In placing the fortunes of the state in such close proximity to an understanding of heaven, this section quite obviously relates back to the information provided by Matteo Ricci on the sphericity of the Earth and the calculation of time zones or celestial phenomena, thus underlining the accuracy and veracity of those theories on the one hand and creating a parallel for their Chinese readership on the other hand. It is striking how the repeated use of the number five in enumerating the various products fuses two separate concepts

⁷⁶ Congruently, a recent study of Jin Cao has shown how the annotations and descriptions of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* also reflect the interest of Chinese readers in mineral deposits and particularly in silver mines outside China, for example in South America. See Cao (2018).

⁷⁷ Zhang gives a detailed analysis of the written legends describing the strange lands and beings in Zhang (2015), pp. 65–84. Consistent with the argumentation of this paper, he observes: “Ricci followed the Chinese xenological scheme by locating all the savages and subhuman races far away from China, mostly in Africa, the Americas, and on the Eurasian continent in areas around the Caucasus and the Arctic Zone.”, Zhang (2015), p. 78. See also Reichle (2016), pp. XII–XIII, Song (2019), pp. 197–198.

⁷⁸ Cf. Zhang (2015), pp. 38–39, Fontana (2011), p. 51.

⁷⁹ D’Elia (1938), Tavola XXIV; also Zhang (2015), pp. 80–81.

⁸⁰ D’Elia (1938), Tavola XXIV.

⁸¹ D’Elia (1938), Tavola XXIV: “Tutti i lavori sono eccellenti. Si studia l’astronomia e la filosofia.”

about the world in one paragraph. Just as the number four is culturally charged owing to its inseparable link with the concept of the Four Seas, the number five is equally embedded in major Chinese cultural concepts. To name just a few examples: the existence of five elements, the division of All under Heaven into the Five Zones, the Middle Kingdom as the central state surrounded by the Four Barbarians, or the five cardinal relationships in Confucianist thought all mirror the importance of the number in different strands of thought.⁸² In their own way, both explanations illustrate how certain aspects of Chinese culture have been translated into a European context for the purpose of shaping and accommodating a European Self to resemble the Other—namely the Chinese.

Congruently, it can be observed that the Jesuits strove to accommodate Europe as a whole to Chinese knowledge and representational systems. In their visual construction, Western and Central Europe are translated into the notion of a great, uniform “West”. One needs to keep in mind the limited knowledge Chinese scholars had gathered about Europe. As they were not able to travel there themselves and had hardly come into contact with Europeans prior to the arrival of the Jesuits, the only knowledge they had to rely on was the preselected information provided by the latter.⁸³ Since the map does not visually mark the borders of countries or continents such as Europe and Asia, it is fair to suppose that the Chinese reader would not have been able to distinguish easily where exactly the land of the “Men of the Great Western Country” started and ended. Instead, it appears as one huge entity or conglomerate. But if one looks closer, the cartographic representation of Europe stands in stark contrast to what has been analysed so far. I should mention here that the geographical shape of the European continent seemed quite distorted, not only by present-day standards but also by those of a European reader at the time, too.⁸⁴ Alongside the omission of a more Eurocentric perspective designed to accommodate Chinese conceptions of centrality, a large section of the Eurasian continent seems to be elongated, as can be seen, for example, in the cases of Spain and France, or quite noticeably the Caspian Sea, which has lost all of its distinctive vertical shape. On a more general note, whereas China was filled to the brim with depictions of mountain ranges, rivers, and even a man-made landmark, the depiction of Western Europe features hardly any of the above, with the exception of the Alps and the Danube River, leaving large stretches of the map plain white. This seems all the more interesting given that Ricci himself stated that he had used European cartographic source material in the compilation of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*. In fact, most recent scholars agree that he used works by Christopher Clavius and Alessandro

⁸²The annotations pertaining to the European continent also reference the five relationships: ‘Their customs are simple and honest, and the rules governing the five human relationships are observed in earnest.’ See D’Elia (1938), Tavola XXIV. Cf. Fontana (2011), p. 127, Zhang (2015), pp. 54, 214, Brook (2009), p. 278.

⁸³See Brook (2009), pp. 269–270.

⁸⁴See, for example, Ch’en (1939), p. 378.

Piccolomini for the cosmographic diagrams on the map and publications like *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius or Gerardus Mercator's and Petrus Plancius's planispheres for the overall cartographic projection and depiction.⁸⁵ Thus, the white plains should be interpreted not as an indication of missing reference material or a simple lack of knowledge but rather as evidence of the influence and (dis-)interest of the Chinese collaborators and cartographers. By the same token, the "inaccurate" depiction of the Italian coastline, for example, seems inexplicable without considering the influence of the Chinese literati, for it is not only one of the most memorable geographical shapes in Europe but also circumscribes the country where Matteo Ricci himself was born and where he joined the Jesuit order. In fact, the representation of Europe as a visually unremarkable form that is nonetheless described as a beacon of civilization creates a highly ambiguous picture. In this way, the cartographic representation of Europe runs very much counter to the one the Jesuits sought to parallel, demonstrating the limits of Jesuit knowledge in the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* as well as the process by which the map came into being and finally how it was to be understood.

11.4 Conclusions

A close study of the interplay between the cartographic and epicartographic elements of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* has shown how the map is deeply embedded in the respective cultural knowledge of the Chinese and Jesuit collaborators and how it was shaped and formed by the encounter between the two partners. It is through the different actors' interests, negotiations, and efforts at cultural translation that the map creates a space for encounters, intertwining different perceptions and understandings of the world as well as the actors' ideas of Self and Other. In approaching this map as neither an isolated and neutral nor a purely scientific object, but as a highly complex endeavour, I have presented the difficulties and problems of cultural translation of this kind and the ambiguities to which it gives rise.

The *Kunyu wanguo quantu* combines at least two different viewpoints: those of the Jesuit missionaries and those of the Chinese literati, within the larger framework of the early Jesuit mission in China. On the one hand, I have outlined the Jesuits' early attempts at cultural accommodation, describing how Matteo Ricci's first contact with the Chinese eventually led to the production of the *Yudi shanhai quantu* in 1584. Questions about the representation of three-dimensionality and the way in which the Jesuits wanted to construe their own identity in it were based on and adapted from the specifically Christian knowledge Matteo Ricci had brought with him, ranging from the spherical shape of the Earth and its visualization as a spiritual and educational tool to the characterization of Europe

⁸⁵ See Cattaneo (2014), p. 81, Zhang (2015), p. 49 fn. 46, Day (1995), Foss (2016), p. 22.

as a whole. On the other hand, I have analysed the visual representations of some major focal points of the map in order to illustrate the active and leading involvement of Chinese officials and scholars in the process of mapmaking. Their avid interest in the “exotic” and the practice of evidence-based learning, as reflected by the Chinese collaborator Li Zhizao, informed the drawing of the map and heavily influenced the final result. I have shown how the influence of Chinese cosmology and its textual as well as pictorial representations can be detected in the map. As the information included stems from different sources and is also translated in and between the interacting knowledge systems, it forms an ambiguous space, which can only be interpreted if one assumes the active involvement and interest of the Chinese literati alongside that of the Jesuits.

By focussing on the overall cartographic layout and the epicartographic elements included outside the oval projection of the Earth itself, I identified the shape of the Earth as one major common point of interest, albeit one that was approached differently according to cultural preconceptions. My analysis of the projection method, diagrams, and written annotations showed how Ricci and the Chinese scholars each sought ways to accommodate their respective understanding of the world through translation processes. Those reciprocal translation processes are of both a linguistic and cultural nature and it is they that shaped the map into its present ambiguous form. Another major point was the primary interest of Chinese scholars in the calculation of celestial phenomena even though they lacked the specific cultural knowledge needed to decode the religious and philosophical implications of the information and the instructions provided by the Jesuits. Thus, parts of the map could be read and verified according to practice and evidence-based learning, but without necessarily grasping the full extent of these notions. In this section I therefore underlined the difficulties of cultural translation between the actors in this encounter owing to their differing interests in the construction of the map and their respective cultural knowledge. I also proposed that the written annotations in particular provide a more detailed and less ambiguous version of the purely cartographic representation, pointing to a need to read them in conjunction with the map itself for a comprehensive interpretation. Finally, a more detailed analysis of the map revealed that the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* is visually and abstractly constructed as a space for encounters in which such interactions and translation processes can be positioned. Citing the written annotations about China, Europe, and some other regions, I argued that the map primarily unfolds this space through the creation of connections between Self and Other, which are themselves constructs based on their cultural context. In this way, the representation of Europe mirrors and adapts certain aspects of Chinese culture, readjusting the presentation of the Self to create a link between the two collaborators but at the same time creating an oxymoron between the textual and visual components. This link only becomes fully apparent in the construct of the “exotic”, which is influenced by selected Chinese as well as European perceptions of the Other. Only by looking at the map from changing perspectives—literally and figuratively—do these different relationships and attempts to translate as well as the resulting ambiguities become apparent, thereby turning Matteo Ricci into

Li Madou, and the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* from a transmitter of Western scientific knowledge into a collaborative and interactive space for encounters.

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Kapitel 12

Lost in Transmission. Maps of Japan by Daikokuya Kōdayū 大黒屋 光太夫 (1751–1828)*



Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and Ekaterina Simonova-Gudzenko

12.1 Introduction

A map, as a rule, combines graphic and textual elements and by definition speaks two languages—the language of its toponyms and other textual elements, and the

* This article was written within the framework of the project “Translation terroirs—East Asia Between Autochthonous and Western Cartographic Languages” (Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte –MPIWG, Berlin) <https://www.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/research/projects/translation-terroirs-east-asia-between-autochthonous-and-european-cartographic>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. The project is part of the SPP 2130 Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit (1450–1800) / Early Modern Translation cultures (1450–1800). <https://www.spp2130.de/index.php/en/overview/>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. We are truly grateful to Dr Helmut Rohlfing and Bärbel Mund (Department of Manuscripts and Rare Prints of the Göttingen State and University Library) and Maarja Kivi (National Archives of Estonia, Tartu branch) for generous help with the library and archive holdings; to Dr Hasegawa Masato 長谷川 正人 (MPIWG and National Taiwan University) and Dr. Takigawa Yuko 滝川 祐子 (Kagawa University) for having called our attention to many Japanese publications on the subject, and to our colleagues from the SPP 2130, Prof Renate Dürr and Prof Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, for valuable remarks on a draft of the article. Our special thanks go to John Moffett for the English proofreading. All mistakes found in this article are our own responsibility.

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A. Flüchter et al., *Übersetzungspolitiken in der Frühen Neuzeit / Translation Policy and the Politics of Translation in the Early Modern Period*, Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit 3, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-67339-3_12

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language of its system of cartographic representation.¹ The “national affiliation” of a map is by default defined by the language of its toponyms and other textual elements,² but the translatability of a “foreign” map depends to a considerable extent on understanding its cartographic language. Transmissions and translations of cartographic items have recently begun to attract the attention of cartographic historians more and more, but no commonly recognized definitions have yet been worked out in this domain. We argue that, from the point of view of translatability, maps can be divided into three main categories: (1) fully translatable, (2) adaptable, and (3) untranslatable:

- (1) We consider a map to be “fully translatable” if the system of cartographic representation applied in it is common to its translator and the intended audience. This means that redrawing a map with all its cartometric properties and cartographic conventions and translating its toponyms makes it perfectly comprehensible, as has been the case since internationally recognized standards in cartography were established in the late modern Western maps drawn according to cartographic projection and scale.
- (2) If a source map applies a system of cartographic representation different from that common to the translator and the intended audience, but compatible with it, it can be rendered understandable through some adjustments (e.g. the use of different models for drawing scaled maps, the use of different cartographic conventions). The resulting translation here could be referred to as an “adapted translation”.
- (3) Finally, a map based on a radically different system of cartographic representation is “untranslatable”, in the sense that the redrawing of its configuration and translation of its toponyms can, at best, only approximate the mapped area, but do not allow one to grasp the ideas behind the cartographic image. To make such a map comprehensible, it is necessary to explain the entire system of spatial concepts that underlie it.

We further argue that one should distinguish clearly between a “translation” and an “explanation”, even though in this case both are aimed at making a “foreign” source comprehensible in a different language. A fully translatable map does not require much additional commentary. An untranslatable map, on the contrary, can

¹The definition of a map is still one of the most controversial issues in the history of cartographic studies; see a recent lecture by the leading theoretician in the field, Matthew Edney, see Edney (2021), where he challenges the still normative definition of a map proposed in the History of Cartography Project of the Chicago University <https://geography.wisc.edu/histcart/>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. See Harley and Woodward (1987), pp. XV–XVI.

²In cases where a *lingua franca* is used in maps, such as Latin in mediaeval European cartography, or classical Chinese in East Asia, the “national affiliation” of a map is determined by the origins and/or the cartographic school of the map-maker.

only be made comprehensible through extensive explanations. In other words, the more explanations and elucidations a map needs, the less translatable it is. Maps can therefore be explicable while at the same time remaining untranslatable. Explicability, in turn, has certain limits, depending directly on the extent of the cultural differences between the explained source and the intended audience.

In this article we shall discuss the category of “untranslatable” maps using the example of the manuscript maps of Japan drawn by Daikokuya Kōdayū 大黒屋 光太夫 (Wakamatsu, Ise Province, now Suzuka, Mie, 1751–1828), of which eight copies are known to date. These maps were initially created as cartographic images of Japan for “foreign” usage to be translated to serve the needs of the Russian state. However, the system of cartographic representation used by the Japanese author turned out to be untranslatable for the intended audience and, since it was not explained, remained incomprehensible. The maps were drawn during the author’s detention in Russia, as at this time and place he appeared to be the only knowledgeable native Japanese capable of producing a map of Japan. All the maps are large-format, coloured manuscripts (ca. 60–73 × 117–147 cm). They resemble each other but are not identical.³ One could define them as one map in eight versions, but for convenience we shall refer to them as “maps”. Rooted in the Japanese cartographic tradition, the cartographic image of Japan drawn by Daikokuya Kōdayū does not copy any of the known maps of Japan and is distinguished by its unique configuration and content. The translations are incorporated into five of the maps—one might refer to them as “two-in-one” maps: a source map and its translation on one sheet.

The failure of an audience trained in the modern Western cartographic tradition to understand the system of cartographic representation used in the maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū is the reason why these maps, despite all the effort expended in translating and commenting on them, were not recognized as documents of state importance, and do not seem to have had much influence on the contemporaneous mapping of Japan by Western scholars. The maps either became Japanese “curiosities” in the *Asch Sammlung* (Göttingen) donated by Baron Georg Thomas von Asch (1729–1807) to the University of Göttingen along with many other items, or were lost in archives in the former USSR, and one in the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London, UK, to be rediscovered only at the turn from the twentieth to the twenty-first century.

The afterlife of these maps—the context of their final whereabouts in libraries and archives—provides supplementary information that contributes to a better understanding of these maps’ place in the history of cartography and as subjects of translation. The *Asch Sammlung*—containing three of the eight maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū as well as several related manuscripts in Japanese and

³The dimensions provided here refer to maps proper and not to the sheets on which they appear.

Russian, including Russian maps of the Far East—occupies a key position in this context. The collection was amassed around the period when Daikokuya Kōdayū drew his maps, and they were acquired almost immediately. In other words, the context of their acquisition is closely related to the maps themselves.

Daikokuya Kōdayū is widely known in Japan and Russia, and the story of his extraordinary life, in addition to arousing considerable scholarly interest, has attracted the attention of artists, making him the hero of novels, films, and even an opera.⁴ However, his dramatic history overshadowed his maps, studies of which are few in number, and all those that have been published to date are in Japanese. Five maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū were thoroughly studied by Iwai Noriyuki 岩井 憲幸, but mostly from the point of view of a philologist and historian.⁵ Another historian, Kawakami Jun 川上 淳, shed light on two of the maps.⁶ Even in Japan, however, the interest of cartographic historians in these maps has been rather modest. The great Japanese cartographic historian, Unno Kazutaka 海野 一隆, the author of the survey of Japanese cartography in the *History of Cartography* series published by the Chicago University Press, did not include these maps in his survey study, but provided some insights into their cartographic origins elsewhere.⁷ Another Japanese cartographic historian, Hasegawa Koji 長谷川 孝治, brought to light a further copy and then endeavoured a comparative study of the six copies known to him, but published only two short summaries of his investigation.⁸ Currently the maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū are being studied by Takigawa Yuko 滝川 祐子, a scientific historian primarily interested in their historical setting and the persons with whom Daikokuya Kōdayū came into contact during and after the time when he was drawing his maps. She is particularly interested in the “British connections”.⁹

We regard these maps from the perspective of a historian of East Asian cartography interested in formal methods of map analysis.¹⁰ The eight maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū provide a simple case of map filiation, which can be used to test methods of its analysis. In this article we propose the first tentative genealogy of these maps, established by applying a few formal criteria. Then we shall trace the acquisition history of the Daikokuya Kōdayū-related items in the *Asch*

⁴For instance, an excellent Russian-Japanese film “Сны о России” (‘Dreams about Russia’) was created about him in 1992. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n1OnfiscF4g>. Accessed: 10 August 2023.

⁵Iwai Noriyuki (1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2001a, 2001b).

⁶Kawakami Jun (1999).

⁷Unno Kazutaka (1994, 1999), respectively.

⁸Hasegawa Koji (2003, 2013).

⁹TAKIGAWA Yuko (2022).

¹⁰I am also truly grateful to Hasegawa Masato 長谷川 正人 for having called my attention to the studies by Iwai Noriyuki.

Sammlung and demonstrate that the fate of his maps provides good evidence of the little consideration given to the cartographic information they conveyed.

12.2 Daikokuya Kōdayū's Itinerary: When and Where the Maps were Drawn

Daikokuya Kōdayū was in the Russian Empire for about a decade (1783–1792). He did not remain in one place, however, but travelled from the far eastern border to St. Petersburg and back to Japan. In the following, to facilitate an understanding of the conditions under which he drew his maps, and in particular exactly where and when, we summarize his movement in time and space, using a set of fixed points, from the beginning of his journey to the end.

Point 1 (starting point): Ise Bay (Shiroko-noma fault), 15 January 1783.¹¹

On 15 January 1783, Daikokuya Kōdayū, then in his early thirties and captain of the ship *Shinsho-maru* (神昌丸) loaded with 500 *kokus* of rice and other goods, set sail from Ise Bay (Shiroko-noma fault) for Edo with a crew of sixteen.

Point 2: Amchitka Island, 1783–1786.

The ship was blown off course by a storm and severely damaged. Its mast and rudder shattered; it drifted for almost eight months before finally wrecking on the shore of Amchitka, one of the islands of the Aleutian ridge.¹² One sailor had died during the voyage; the rest of the crew were taken in by Russian fur hunters. They stayed for about four years, witnessing an uprising of the Aleut people in 1784. Seven members of the crew died during this period, which turned out to be longer than expected because a Russian ship that came to fetch the Japanese sank when it reached the coast of Amchitka. The *Asch Sammlung* holds several manuscript maps of the Russian Far East, including manuscript nautical maps of the Aleutian ridge, such as, for instance, the map with shelf-mark Cod. Ms. Asch 278.¹³ According to a lengthy textual passage in Russian at the top of the map with a short summary in German, it reflects sea voyages between 1772 and 1779, just prior to the arrival of the Japanese sailors. Amchitka is shown at the bottom of the map as a long island stretching east to west and located around the middle of the Aleutian ridge. Its depiction is accompanied by a short note concerning

¹¹This date is given in the letter from Daikokuya Kōdayū in the holdings of the Göttingen State and University Library, shelf-mark Cod. Ms. Asch 150, discussed below.

¹²According to the letter from Daikokuya Kōdayū, the Japanese sailors reached Amchitka on 6 August 1783.

¹³For a digital image of the map and its short descriptions, see <https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN349619751>; <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3648813>. All accessed: 10 March 2021.

shipwrecks on its shores, evidence of the dangers of navigation in the area at the time. It is noteworthy that, in contrast to the contemporaneous general maps showing the North Pacific, the configuration of the Aleutian ridge in the Russian nautical maps is quite close to accurate maps of the region.¹⁴

Point 3: Kamchatka 1787–1788.

Twenty-five Russians and the nine surviving Japanese finally managed to leave Amchitka on a ship built of driftwood with sails made of otter skins. It took them around six weeks to reach Kamchatka, to the disbelief of all who met them. In Kamchatka the Japanese met a French diplomat, Barthélemy de Lesseps (Sète, 1766—Lisbon, 1834), who arrived at Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky on 11 February 1788. Lesseps wrote a diary, published in Paris in 1790, in which he described the Japanese sailors and in particular Daikokuya Kōdayū, having apparently been very much impressed by him.¹⁵ Lesseps noted that Daikokuya Kōdayū was quick-witted, spoke Russian, if with a strong accent, was quite good-looking, and much respected by the members of his crew. When in Kamchatka, three more Japanese sailors died, leaving only five from the original crew of seventeen.

Point 4: Irkutsk (via Okhotsk and Yakutsk), 1788–1790.

Assistant to the Commandant (Командант) of Kamchatka Timotheus Khodkevich (Тимофей Ходкевич, fl. second half of the eighteenth century) took the five surviving Japanese first to Okhotsk, then via Yakutsk to Irkutsk. In Irkutsk he presented Daikokuya Kōdayū to the investigator of Siberia in the service of Catherine the Great (r. 1762–1796), Erik Gustav Laxman (Erich Gustav Laxmann, Кирилл Густавович Лаксман; Nyslott, now Savonlinna, 1737—near Tobolsk, 1796). This was a pivotal event for both Laxman and Daikokuya Kōdayū, as well as for the history of the cartography of Japan. Laxman was an outstanding individual who immediately appreciated Daikokuya Kōdayū and soon became his patron and friend. He was a clergyman and natural scientist (botanical abbreviation Laxm.) passionately interested in Siberia. It was he who first asked Daikokuya Kōdayū to draw a map of Japan. One map is known from this period, drawn in 1789. Then Laxman hit on the idea of using Daikokuya Kōdayū and the surviving members of his crew to develop Russian-Japanese relations. He thought that if the Russian crown were to return the Japanese to their homeland, it might give the relations a considerable boost. However, this required permission from the highest level. Since Laxman was well aware of the slowness of the Russian bureaucracy, exacerbated by the huge distance between Irkutsk and St. Petersburg,

¹⁴Cf., for instance, with the “Asia-America map”, which is thought to have been brought back to Japan by Daikokuya Kōdayū, now in the holdings of the National Archives of Japan (Digital Archives). <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/pickup/view/detail/detailArchivesEn/0404000000/0000000534/00>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. In this map the islands of the Aleutian ridge are considerably oversized and their arrangement has little in common with topographical reality.

¹⁵Lesseps (1790), pp. 203–211.

he proposed to Daikokuya Kōdayū that they go directly to St. Petersburg themselves.

Point 5: St. Petersburg, 1791.

Laxman, Daikokuya Kōdayū, and Laxman's second son Afanasy left Irkutsk on 15 January and arrived at St. Petersburg on 19 February 1791, having covered a distance of 5823 “versty”¹⁶ in a bit over a month. Through support from two influential persons at the court, Alexander Andreevich Bezborodko (Александр Андреевич Безбородко; Glukhov, 1747—St. Petersburg, 1799), the Grand Chancellor of the Russian Empire during Catherine the Great's reign, and the diplomat Alexander Romanovich Vorontsov (Александр Романович Воронцов; St. Petersburg, 1741—Andreevskoe, Vladimirskaya Guberniya, 1805), Daikokuya Kōdayū obtained the permission of Catherine the Great to return to Japan. While in St. Petersburg, he was again urged to draw maps of Japan, especially by Bezborodko. Laxman and Daikokuya Kōdayū left Petersburg on 27 November 1791 and arrived at Irkutsk on 23 January 1792, having sojourned in Moscow, Nizhny Novgorod, and Tobolsk for several days each on the way.

Point 6 (endpoint): Hokkaido (via Irkutsk) 1792.

In 1792 Daikokuya Kōdayū reached Hokkaido, accompanied by Erik Laxman's son, Adam (1766–1806), who kept a diary which has come down to us and serves as another important source on Daikokuya Kōdayū.¹⁷ Two other Japanese crewmen were authorized to return to Japan, but one died just before arrival. Two more, who had been baptized and taken on Russian names, decided to stay in Russia. Thanks to Erik Laxman's efforts, Daikokuya Kōdayū returned to Japan with many documents, including ten maps, but not those drawn by himself, as they were destined for the Russian state.¹⁸ He led a comfortable life, married and had a son, but spent the rest of his life under surveillance and never drew maps again.

¹⁶ 1 versta (верста) is equal to 1.0668 km.

¹⁷ *Zhurnal posol'stva Laxmana v Yaponiyu / Журнал посольства Лаксмана в Японию* (Journal of Laxman's Embassy to Japan) (1961), covers the period from 13 September 1792 to 21 January 1794. For recent studies of Adam Laxman's expedition on the basis of his diary, see Kartashov (2017), Shchepkin and Kartashov (2018), Russian version (2017).

¹⁸ The maps and other sources are available at the website of the National Archives of Japan. <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/pickup/view/category/categoryArchives/0400000000/0404000000/00>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. Ekaterina Simonova-Gudzenko (2020) questions the assumptions that all the maps were originals. According to Adam Laxman's diary, some were copied by the Japanese *in situ* using thin transparent paper, while the Russians kept the originals for themselves, see *Zhurnal posol'stva Laxmana v Yaponiyu/Журнал посольства Лаксмана в Японию* (Journal of Laxman's Embassy to Japan) (1961), p. 122 (entry of 15 October 1792). A justification of existence of this copying technique in the late 18th century Russia and Japan in relation to Daikokuya Kōdayū is that one of his maps kept at the Russian *Military and Historical Archives* –ф451оп1д18—is drawn on the oiled paper meant for copying through superimposition on the original.

This summary of Daikokuya Kōdayū’s travels shows that he drew his maps during two narrow periods of time—in 1789 and 1791—and in two places distant from each other—Irkutsk and St. Petersburg.

12.3 Daikokuya Kōdayū’s Map of Japan: A Tentative Genealogy

It goes without saying that, since all the maps were undoubtedly drawn by a single person, they could only have been drawn one after another. Table 12.1 places them in tentative chronological order and summarizes their main attributes, including the comparison criteria employed.

12.3.1 *The Extant Maps of Japan by Daikokuya Kōdayū: An Overview*

The eight maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū known to date do not bear any titles but are conventionally referred to as “maps of Japan” or “general maps of Japan”, as this is what they are meant to represent. From the point of view of the history of their acquisition or rediscovery, they can be divided into two groups.¹⁹ Reproductions of eight of these maps are provided at the end of this article in the order of their enumeration in Table 12.1.

Group I

Three maps in the *Asch Sammlung, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* – SUB (Göttingen State and University Library, Germany).

As is the case of the collection itself, these maps have been relatively well known since the time of their acquisition in the early 1790s, and the context of their acquisition is well documented.²⁰ Low-resolution digital images of these three maps, complete with short descriptions, are available through the websites of the Göttingen State and University Library, the *Kalliope-Verbund*, and the *Meeting of Frontiers Project* (1999–2003):

¹⁹All eight maps have recently been digitized in high-resolution (recto-verso). High-resolution copies are not available for open access and have to be ordered from the relevant repository.

²⁰The acquisition history will be discussed below.

Table 12.1 Comparative table of maps by *Daikokuya Kōdayū* 大黒屋 光太夫 (1751–1828)²¹

N°	MAP (shelf-marks and actual place)	Map model	Date as given in Japanese, Russian, German	Place as given in Russian, German	Language	Acquisition information	Dimensions in cm (height and breadth) rounded up	Paper	Selected carto-graphical symbols	Links to websites and images
1.	Cod. Ms. Asch 284 Asch Collection (Göttingen) signed and dated in Japanese (verso) note on the verso: “ <i>General Karte von Japan. Aus Irkutsk erhalten. 1793 / Генеральная Карта Японскаго Цоударемаа</i> ” (note in German by von Asch)	Initial map	天明九酉歲七月廿八日 [Tenmei 9th — Rooster — Year (=1789), 7 th month, 28th day]	[Irkutsk], see “acquisition information”	Japanese with Russian transcriptions and comments	Received from Irkutsk in St. Petersburg in 1793 (note on the verso); sent by Asch from St. Petersburg May 22 nd [Julian calendar]/June 2 nd , 1794; received in Göttingen July 14 th , 1794	Sheet: 66.0 x 127.0 Map proper: 62.8 (left/right) x 124.2 (bottom) (measurements by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann)	6 thick greenish sheets with watermarks, glued together	Mount Fuji located farther from the southern coast. Miyako marked by red circle	https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN353292451 https://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3649022 http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.ndjpcoop/mtfxmp.g353292451 S. Fig. 12.5
2.	EAA.1414.2.43 sheet 64 National Archives of Estonia (Tartu), von Krusenstern Collection, signed and dated in Japanese (verso); commentary in German on the verso referring to the date of the author’s return to Japan on September 28 th , 1791.	Model A	天明拾壹歲參月上旬 [Tenmei 11 th year, 3 rd month, first decade] 1791 (see “Place”)	St. Petersburg, mentioned in the German commentary on the verso on the author’s whereabouts in 1791	Japanese with Russian transcriptions and comments	Krusenstern’s archive (Tartu)	Sheet: 75.0 x 149.0 Approximated map proper: ca. 73.0 x 148.0		Mount Fuji located closer to the southern coast. Miyako marked by red circle	https://www.ra.ee/kaardid/index.php/en/map/view?id=28886 S. Fig. 12.6

(Continuation)

²¹ Outstanding characteristics are marked in **bold**.

Table 12.1 (Continuation)

N°	MAP (shelf-marks and actual place)	Map model	Date as given in Japanese, Russian, German	Place as given in Russian, German	Language	Acquisition information	Dimensions in cm (height and breadth) rounded up	Paper	Selected carto-graphical symbols	Links to websites and images
3.	БФ03-363 Hermitage (Petersburg) signed and dated in Japanese (verso)	Model A	天明拾壹歲 參月〇〇日 [Tenmei 11 th year (= 1791), 3 rd month, NN day]		Japanese with German transcriptions and comments		sheet: 74.5 x 148.0 Approximated map proper: ca. 73.0 x 147.5		Mount Fuji located closer to the southern coast. Miyako marked by red circle	S. Fig 12.7
4.	Cod. Ms. Asch 285 Asch Collection (Göttingen) signed and dated in Japanese, (recto, left margin); the author's signature and date are translated and commented in Russian Verso: at the upper right corner two barely visible lines of characters	Model B	天明十一年三月下旬 (written in cursive) [Tenmei 11th year, 3rd month, last decade] 3 rd month translated into Russian as March 1791 (see "Place")	St. Petersburg (together with 1791 given in the note in Russian to the author's signature, as the place of his whereabouts that year)	Japanese with Russian transcriptions and comments	Sent from St. Petersburg with Asch April 3 rd [Julian calendar]/14 th , 1793; received in Göttingen June 22 nd , 1793.	sheet: 65.0 x 138.0 map proper: 60.0 (left/right) x 119.0 (bottom) 117.0 (top) (measurements by Vera Dorofeeva- Lichtmann)	2 white thinner sheets with watermarks, glued together	Mount Fuji closer to the southern coast. Thick ochre frame. External borderlines drawn in green, internal by light brown	https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN553292737 https://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3649037 http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.ndjpcoop/mfxmp.6353292737 S. Fig 12.8

(Continuation)

Table 12.1 (Continuation)

N°	MAP (shelf-marks and actual place)	Map model	Date as given in Japanese, Russian, German	Place as given in Russian, German	Language	Acquisition information	Dimensions in cm (height and breadth) rounded up	Paper	Selected carto-graphical symbols	Links to websites and images
5.	Cod. Ms. Asch 286 Asch Collection (Göttingen) signed and dated in Japanese (verso), with year translated in Russian below —“1791 roka”. Copied from Cod. Ms. Asch 286	Model B	天明拾壹歳 参月吉日 [Tenmei 11 th year, 3 rd month, auspicious day] 1791	Sent from St. Petersburg (see “Acquisition Information”)	Japanese	Sent from St. Petersburg with Asch 285 April 3 rd [Julian calendar]/14 th , 1793; received in Göttingen June 22 nd , 1793.	sheet : 66.0 x 124.0 map proper: 60.0 (left/right) x 117.7 (bottom) 118.0 (top) (measurements by Vera Dorofeeva- Lichtmann)	2 white thinner sheets, watermarks, glued together	Mount Fuji located closer to the southern coast. Thick ochre frame. External borderlines drawn in green, internal by light brown	https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN3:53292915 http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3646964 http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.ndlpcoop/mfxfmp.g353292915 S. Fig 12.9
6.	φ4510иЛ18 RGVIA (Moscow) signed and dated in Japanese (recto, lower right corner), date and place also given here in Latin letters “A.D. 1791 St.Petersburg”. English commentaries (verso), one long and one short, by two hands, see “acquisition information”	Model B	天明拾壹歳 参月下旬 [Tenmei 11th year, 3rd month, the last decade] 1791	St. Petersburg	Japanese with commentaries in English on the back	Long commentary provides a summary of Daikokuya Kōdayū’s life Short English commentary dated 1808 mentions Mr. Eter, a jeweller and antiquarian in St. Petersburg as the map’s owner	Sheet: 63.2 (left) 62.2 (right) x 122.8 (bottom) 122.9 (top) (cf. catalogue RGVIA F. 451: 62 x 120) map proper: 59.8 (left) 61.0 (right) x 120.5 (bottom, very uneven) 120.1 (top) (measurements by Vera Dorofeeva- Lichtmann)	oiled paper –3 sheets of different size glued together (the smallest piece has a darker colour), then cut into 3 almost even parts glued on a back-up patchwork of thick white paper with water-signs; framing of the entire map and each of the 3 parts uses a band aid	Mount Fuji located closer to the southern coast. Thick ochre frame. External borderlines drawn in green, internal by light brown	S. Fig 12.10

(Continuation)

Table 12.1 (Continuation)

N°	MAP (shelf-marks and actual place)	Map model	Date as given in Japanese, Russian, German	Place as given in Russian, German	Language	Acquisition information	Dimensions in cm (height and breadth) rounded up	Paper	Selected carto-graphical symbols	Links to websites and images
7.	ф451.он1.д19 RGVIA (Moscow) signed in Japanese (recto, left margin), dated in Russian (recto, lower right corner)	Model B	April 28 th , 1791 “1791” ²⁰ 28 th <i>anp</i> : A; <i>Лаксманъ</i> ”	(St. Petersburg)	Japanese with transcription and comments in Russian	“A: <i>Лаксманъ</i> ” most likely is written by Erik Laxman’s son Adam, compare with the signature of his elder brother Evstafy (Евстафий) (Iwai 1996a, p. 121)	Sheet: 67.4 (left/right) x 126.7 (bottom) 125.6 (top) (cf. Iwai 2001, p. 5; 62 x 126) map proper: 62.0 (left) 60.0 (right) x 120.5 (bottom) 118.8 (top) (measurements by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann)	3 sheets of rather simple white paper glued together; then cut into 2 almost even parts; framing of the entire map and each of the 2 parts uses a band aid	Mount Fuji located closer to the southern coast. Miyako marked by red circle. Double black frame evokes frames of printed maps. Borderlines drawn in different colours	S. Fig. 12.11
8.	GRENI/5 Grenville Collection, the Caird Library and Archive, National Maritime Museum (Greenwich, London) According to Takigawa 2022, a precise reproduction of Daikokuya Kōdayū’s map by Whitworth; possibly an incomplete version of his map.	Model B		(St. Petersburg)	No text, apart from the note “Chart of Japan—Nipon” in the lower left corner	Sent from St. Petersburg by the British Ambassador, Charles Whitworth, to London, to the British Foreign Secretary, Lord William Wyndham Grenville, on February 7 th , 1793.	Map sheet: 65.0 x 123.5 approximated map proper: ca. 60.0 x 120.0	folded	Mount Fuji located closer to the southern coast. Double black frame evokes frames of printed maps	https://images.rmg.co.uk/search?searchQuery==s9516 S. Fig. 12.12

Cod. Ms. Asch 284: (Map 1)	https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN353292451 https://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3649022 http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.ndlpcoop/mtfxmp.g353292451
Cod. Ms. Asch 285 (Map 4)	https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN353292737 https://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3649037 http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.ndlpcoop/mtfxmp.g353292737
Cod. Ms. Asch 286: (Map 5)	https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN353292915 http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3646964 http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.ndlpcoop/mtfxmp.g353292915
* All accessed: 10 March 2021	

Two of these maps (Cod. Ms. Asch 284 and 285) include transcriptions of Japanese toponyms and comments on them in Russian. Cod. Ms. Asch 286 is in its original state. In the 1990s these three maps and a number of other related documents were personally inspected by a recognized Japanese specialist in Slavic studies, Iwai Noriyuki 岩井 憲幸, who published three substantial articles about them.²² Iwai thoroughly investigated the textual components of the maps, both Japanese and Russian, as well as the quality and origins of the paper, and in this respect did outstanding work.

Group II

Four maps discovered at the end of the twentieth / beginning of the twenty-first century in the archives of the former USSR, and one in the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London.

- Two maps were discovered in 1998 in the Russian Military and Historical Archives (Российский Государственный Военно-Исторический Архив—РГВИА) in Moscow (hereafter RGVIA).²³ The maps are described in a manuscript catalogue under the title “Japan” F. 451 (“Япония” Ф. 451 [1754–1912]), in Section II ‘Geographic materials and materials on military topography’ (Раздел II “Географические и военно-топографические материалы”), list no. 1 ‘Maps of Japan and its islands’ (Список 1 “Карты Японии и её островов”), under entry numbers 18 and 19 and registration numbers 49297 and 49287, respectively.²⁴ The map under entry number 18 has no transcription or comments added, but on the verso has a long passage in English summarizing Daikokuya Kōdayū’s history, as well as a short memo, also in English, noting that in 1808 the map was in the possession of a jeweller and antiquarian in St. Petersburg named Etter (Map 6). The map under entry number 19 has Russian transcriptions and comments only on the recto (Map 7). The catalogue contains other possibly related maps, but all are later than the maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū. The versos of these two maps bear traces of their

²² Iwai Noriyuki 岩井 憲幸 (1994, 1996a, 1996b).

²³ For the first short report about these two copies, see Kawakami Jun (1999).

²⁴ The archives identify these maps by the file and entry numbers: file 451, entries 18 and 19, respectively, using Cyrillic letters: ф451оп1д18 and ф451оп1д19.

- acquisition history in the form of stamps, but, like the context of their catalogue entries, have not yet been studied. Iwai pursued his thorough philological study of the maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū based on a comparison of the three copies from the *Asch Sammlung* with these two copies from the Russian State Archives of Military History.²⁵
- One further map was discovered in 2002 in the National Archives of Estonia (hereafter NAE, shelf-mark: EAA.1414.2.43 sheet 64) by Japanese cartographic historian Hasegawa Koji 長谷川 孝治 and his student Kita Yuko 喜多 祐子, who made a short report on this map in the *Proceedings of the General Meetings of the Association of the Japanese Geographers*.²⁶ An annotated low-resolution digital image of the map is available on the NAE website (**Map 2**).²⁷ As with the five copies referred to above, this copy has Russian transcriptions and comments, while on the verso there is a short summary in German on Daikokuya Kōdayū erroneously detailing that he left St. Petersburg for Japan via Irkutsk and Okhotsk on 28 September 1791; he actually left on 27 November 1791. The map comes from the collection of Daikokuya Kōdayū's younger contemporary Adam Johann von Krusenstern (Иван Фёдорович фон Крузенштерн; Nagudi, 1770—Kiltsi, near Revel, now Tallinn, 1846), admiral of the Russian Fleet, who completed the first circumnavigation voyage in the name of the Russian Empire (1803–1806).²⁸ Von Krusenstern was himself a maritime cartographer and had authored an atlas of the Pacific Ocean—the *Атласъ Южнаго моря* (Atlas of the Southern Sea) published in St. Petersburg in 1824–1826.²⁹ In a poster presented at the 25th *International Conference for*

²⁵Iwai (1999, 2001a, 2001b), see especially table on p. 5. In 1999 and 2000, Iwai refers to the RGVIA maps under the entry numbers 18 and 19 as M1 and M2, respectively, and in 2001 *vice versa*. I am grateful to Takigawa Yuko for calling my attention to this inconsistency in her email of 12 October 2020, as well for these publications. For the first publication of these maps (recto), see the colour plates in *Nemuro rekishi kenkyūkai* 根室歴史研究会 (Nemuro History Study Society) (2003).

²⁶Hasegawa Koji and Kito Yuko (2003).

²⁷<http://www.ra.ee/kaardid/index.php/en/map/view?id=28886>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. The website of the NAE is distinguished by especially consistent descriptions of cartographic items.

²⁸The archives of the von Krusenstern family are located in the Tartu branch of the NAE. One can see the whole list of records in the general archival information system AIS: <https://ais.ra.ee/index.php?tyyp=2&module=202&op=21&leidandmed=EAA.1414>. Accessed: 10 March 2021; there is a small overview of the von Krusenstern archives (in Estonian only): http://www.eha.ee/fondiloend/frames/fond_prop.php?id=2974. Accessed: 10 March 2021. And several digitized documents are available on the portal of digitized records called Saaga—www.ra.ee/saaga. Accessed: 10 March 2021.—among others the famous travel journals <http://www.ra.ee/dgs/explorer.php?tid=173&iid=200000115952&tbn=1&lev=yes&lst=2&hash=cdb11950a9f9a39b731669e964dc7b8e>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. I am truly thankful to Maarja Kivi, the archivist of the NAE in Tartu, for this information.

²⁹Von Krusenstern's interest in maps of Japan can be seen from a map used in his portrait as an admiral (he became an admiral in 1806)—the 'Map of Sakhalin' (Карта Сахалина), which shows Ezo Island (Hokkaido since 1869). In the map on the portrait it is written in Russian as "Ecco".

the History of Cartography (Helsinki, 2013), Hasegawa compared the six copies known to him, though focussing more on what he considered the nostalgic aspect of the maps rather than on their system of cartographic representation.³⁰

- One map was found shortly before 2012 in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (shelf-mark: ВФсэ-363), where it was then restored (**Map 3**). This map copy is distinguished from all the others by transcriptions in Latin script and comments in German. The first study of this map was published in 2014 by Bogolyubov, one of the Hermitage curators, with a black-and-white reproduction of the map.³¹ Due to its late rediscovery, this map was not known to Iwai and Hasegawa. Bogolyubov, for his part, neither knew about the recent discoveries of the Daikokuya Kōdayū's maps nor did he have a good knowledge of the copies held in Göttingen. He believed that Daikokuya Kōdayū drew three maps in total, two of which arrived in Göttingen. The third was kept by the descendants of Johann August Carl Sievers (Peine, Lower Saxony, 1762—St. Petersburg, 1795), a German pharmacist and botanist specializing in the flora of the Asian and Siberian parts of the Russian Empire.³² The map was subsequently sold and resold, ending up at the Museum of Asian Art (Museum für Asiatische Kunst) in Berlin, from where it was taken to the Hermitage at the end of the World War II.³³ This history of the map is plausible aside from the fact that Daikokuya Kōdayū initially drew more maps, of which three were sent to Göttingen.

The distinctive feature of these maps is the extensive commentary in Russian, and in one case in German, incorporated into the body of the map. Comments in Russian in Cod. Ms. Asch 284 and 285, and in RGVIА ф451оп1д18, are transcribed and analyzed by Iwai.³⁴ What the comments share is the purely utilitarian interest in Japan—the useful products that can be found in its different parts.³⁵

- Finally, an incomplete reproduction, as believes TAKIGAWA Yuko, the rediscoverer of this specimen, or an incomplete version, as we suggest, of a

³⁰ Hasegawa (2003, 2013).

³¹ Bogolyubov (2012), a black and white reproduction of the map is found on pp. 162–163.

³² Sievers's manuscript *Stammbuch* (1781–1795) includes a portrait of Daikokuya Kōdayū drawn by Sievers in Irkutsk shortly before Daikokuya Kōdayū's departure for Japan, as one can see from a short accompanying note: "Mein Freund Kodaju. ein Japanischer SchiffsCapitain. reiste wiederum nach Japan. 10. V. 1792. Irkutzk" ('My friend Kodayu. a Japanese ship captain. travelled back to Japan. 10. V. 1792. Irkutzk'). The *Stammbuch* was acquired by the Göttingen University Library in 1939 (shelf-mark: 8 Cod. Ms. hist. lit. 48 w). For a short description of it, see <https://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3176885>. Accessed: 10 March 2021.

³³ Bogolyubov (2012), p. 165 does not give the source of this information.

³⁴ Iwai (1994, 1996b).

³⁵ For instance, in Cod. Ms. Asch 284, one of the northern islands according to the orientation of the map, and the closest to Honshū—*Sado* 佐渡 *Island* – has the following comment: "на семь острове золотая серебряная медная и железная руды" ('on this island there are golden[,] silver[,] copper [and] iron ores').

map by Daikokuya Kōdayū has just been located in the Grenville Collection, the Caird Library and Archive of the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London (shelf-mark: GREN1/5, **Map 8**). The map was sent from St. Petersburg by the British Ambassador, Charles Whitworth, to London, to the British Foreign Secretary, Lord William Wyndham Grenville, on February 7th, 1793.³⁶ The map does not contain any toponyms. Takigawa believes it to be reproduced by Whitworth himself.

12.3.2 *Cartographic Prototypes of the Maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū and their Typological Characteristics*

Iwai proposed that, in drawing his maps, Daikokuya Kōdayū was inspired by printed maps of Japan found in a popular encyclopaedia—*Setsuyōshu* 節用集.³⁷ Having referred to the editions of 1713, 1729, 1788, and 1802, the last two apparently too late to have been known to Daikokuya Kōdayū, Iwai opted for the version of 1729 as the closest to Daikokuya Kōdayū's maps.³⁸ Iwai's studies, in turn, attracted the attention of the great Japanese cartographic historian Unno Kazutaka to these maps.³⁹ Unno became especially interested in the cartographic prototypes of Daikokuya Kōdayū's maps. He made some pertinent remarks on this subject and tried to trace the earliest prototype. In particular, Unno noted that popular encyclopaedias started to include a map of Japan around the time of the Genroku Era 元禄 (1688–1704), and that in the Hōei Era 宝永 (1704–1711) written sources of a different type appeared—short chronicles entitled *Nendaiki eshō* 年代記絵抄 (Chronology: Illustrated Supplement) and *Nendaiki shin'eshō* 年代記新繪抄 (Chronology: New Illustrated Supplement)—which also included maps similar to those found in the popular encyclopaedias. As an example, he provides a map from the *Nendaiki shin'eshō* published in 1711 and notes that this map was derived, in turn, from the 1666 printing of the *Fusōkoku no zu* 扶桑国之圖 (Map of the Fuso [Chin. Fusan] country).⁴⁰ A similar map, in this instance framed by pictures of peoples of far-away countries (mostly mythical) is found in the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* 都会節用百家通 (Complete Compendium of Urban

³⁶ Shelf-mark: GREN1/5 <https://images.rmg.co.uk/search/?searchQuery=s9516>, reproduced in TAKIGAWA Yuko (2022), p. 188 (map 1).

³⁷ For an overview of geographical issues in the encyclopaedia including references to some maps, see Tatsuoka Yuji 立岡 裕士 (2013).

³⁸ Iwai Noriyuki (1994), pp. 203–206.

³⁹ Unno Kazutaka 海野 一隆 (1999), pp. 144–145.

⁴⁰ Unno Kazutaka (1999), pp. 128–129; the map from the *Nendaiki shin'eshō* 年代記新繪抄 of 1711 is found on p. 128. We are truly grateful to Takigawa Yuko for having called our attention to Unno's hypothesis.

Knowledge) published in 1801.⁴¹ However, a systematic study of this map family has yet to be undertaken. As an example, we provide an undated separate map from this map series entitled *Dai Nihon koku no zu* 大日本國之圖 (Map of the Great Japanese State) in the possession of Hosei University 法政大学 (see Fig. 12.13, **Map 9**). Waseda University 早稲田大学 possesses the same map print.⁴² We should add that, generally speaking, these maps are derived from the so-called Gyōki 行基 maps of Japan, the earliest examples of which date to the early fourteenth century.⁴³ As with all traditional maps of Japan, these popular maps include three islands of the Japanese archipelago—Honshū, Kyūshū, and Shikoku. Hokkaido is not in the picture. Only a small piece of it is shown in the upper right corner. The aim of these maps is to provide a general mnemonic scheme of the administrative division of Japan into provinces.

The maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū do indeed bear a certain resemblance to these popular maps in their general configuration and layout. However, the configuration of the latter has some interesting differences. For some unknown reason, namely, Daikokuya Kōdayū depicted Honshū and Kyūshū as one island, although it is absolutely impossible that he did not know that these islands are divided by the Kanmon Strait (関門海峡 Kanmon-kaikyō). In addition, *his maps* are larger and include some picturesque details. For instance, Edo (= Tokyo) and the other big cities are symbolized as fortresses, Edo being the largest among them, while among the landscape features one can see Lake Biwa and Mount Fuji. In some copies (Cod. Ms. Asch 284, RVGIA φ4510π1д19, NAE, and Hermitage), the imperial capital Miyako (= Kyoto) is marked by a red circle. The main typological characteristic of the popular maps of Japan and of the maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū is that, as the authors were not striving for accuracy, they are not drawn

⁴¹ *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* (1801), pp. 2b–3a. For its digital images, see https://www2.dhii.jp/nijl/kanzo/iiiif/200006409/images/200006409_00005.jpg, https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN3343781630&PHYSID=PHYS_0009&DMDID=DMDLOG_0006. Accessed: 10 March 2021.

⁴² *Dai Nihon koku no zu* 大日本國之圖 (Map of the Great Japanese State), Waseda University, shelf-mark: 文庫08 C0986. Undated, monocolour woodblock print on paper; printed in Edo at the printing workshop of Kawachiya Jibei 河内屋治兵; separate map mounted on a decorative sheet for being unrolled and hung on the wall, map sheet: 42.2 cm × 63.2 cm, decorative support sheet: 128.2 cm × 75.4 cm. https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko08/bunko08_c0986/index.html. Accessed: 10 March 2021. https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/bunko08/bunko08_c0986/bunko08_c0986.pdf. Accessed: 10 March 2021.

⁴³ The maps bear the name of the Japanese Buddhist monk Gyōki 行基 (668–749), to whom their creation is ascribed, and are supposed to emulate the shape of *vajra*. They provide a schematic administrative division of three islands of the Japanese archipelago (Honshū, Kyūshū, and Shikoku). Its sixty-six provinces are arranged into three clusters of ovals or circles stretched along the east–west axis. Each oval or circle contains a province name and the number of its districts. On some maps the seven main roads radiating from the capital province, where Kyoto is situated, are depicted. For an overview of the Gyōki maps, see Unno Kazutaka (1994), pp. 366–371; for a recent study of them, see Simonova-Gudzenko (2019).

to scale. In addition, the maps are oriented with North at the top, marked by a prominent arrow-like sign, but this orientation is far from accurate: the top of the maps actually corresponds to a north-western direction. These maps belong to a category of what we propose to refer to as relational diagrammatic maps, typologically similar to relational tree diagrams and aimed at showing relational locations of selected landmarks without much consideration for accuracy.

12.3.3 *Dates on the Maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū*

All the maps are signed and stamped by *Daikokuya Kōdayū*, and all are dated, either by himself and/or translators, either on the recto or verso (see **Table 12.1**). The map with shelf-mark Cod. Ms. Asch 284 is dated to the 9th year of the Tenmei 天明 era, also known as Temmei, and five maps—Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and 286, the RGVIA *φ451on1δ18*, the NAE, and the Hermitage copies—to the 11th year of Tenmei. The dates are quite curious from the point of view of Russian-Japanese communications during this time: the Tenmei era began on 25 April 1781, and ended on 19 February 1789 (Tenmei 9th year, 1st month, 25th day). It was followed by the Kansei 寛政 era, which ended on 19 March 1801 (Kansei 13th year, 2nd month, 5th day). While in Russia, *Daikokuya Kōdayū* apparently did not know about the change of eras and continued to date his maps by the Tenmei era.⁴⁴ Thus the earliest map by *Daikokuya Kōdayū* (Cod. Ms. Asch 284) is dated the 28th day of the 7th month of the 9th year of Tenmei, which, however, had ended about half a year earlier, on the 25th day of its 1st month. The 11th year of Tenmei would have mostly corresponded to 1791, and indeed, in four cases (Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and 286, NAE, and RGVIA *φ451on1δ18*) the Japanese date is translated as 1791. In one case (RGVIA *φ451on1δ19*) the map is dated 28 April 1791 by Adam Laxman in Russian.⁴⁵ In sum, of the total of eight maps by *Daikokuya Kōdayū* known to date, one was drawn in 1789 and six in 1791.

Daikokuya Kōdayū did not indicate the place where he drew his maps, as it was not part of the standard Japanese dating formula. According to the timetable of his travels, one map was drawn while he was staying in Irkutsk, and this is confirmed on the verso by a note in German and Russian that it was received from Irkutsk. For three of the six maps drawn in 1791—Cod. Ms. Asch 285, RGVIA

⁴⁴It is also noteworthy that Iwai (1996b), p. 3, in his list of *Daikokuya Kōdayū*'s sources, corrected the “wrong” dates of the maps for Kansei 1 (Cod. Ms. Asch 284) and Kansei 3 (Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and 286), respectively.

⁴⁵This copy is signed by *Daikokuya Kōdayū*, but exceptionally does not contain a date by his hand. Since his signature is found at the left edge of the map, and he usually placed the date near his signature, it is possible that the date may eventually have been cut off. The logical identification of “А.Лаксманъ”, found at the lower right corner of the map, as Adam Laxman's signature can be confirmed to a certain extent by its similarity to the signature of his elder brother Evstafy (Евстафий), see Iwai (1996a), p. 121. Both signatures have similarly written capital letters “Л” (L) in the family name.

φ4510π1Δ18, and the NAE copy—the commentators indicate the place of their drawing as St. Petersburg, and there is no doubt that the other three copies dated to this year were drawn in the same place. Since the maps are dated to the decade of the 3rd month or to the exact day, one can approximate how much time it took for Daikokuya Kōdayū to draw one copy of the St. Petersburg set. Apart from RGVIA φ4510π1Δ19, where the date in Japanese is missing, all five maps dated to the 11th year of Tenmei were drawn during the 3rd month. This means that it took him at most about six days per map. This is confirmed by the dating of two copies (Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and RGVIA φ4510π1Δ18) to the 3rd decade of the 3rd month. The time it took him to draw one map is surprisingly short, but it applies only to the source maps.⁴⁶ There is no data on how long it would take to introduce transcriptions of toponyms and comments into the body of the source maps.⁴⁷ One can draw this conclusion from the fact that two copies are signed and dated but not transcribed and commented (Cod. Ms. Asch 286 and RGVIA φ4510π1Δ18). As far as the other copies are concerned, the NAE copy is dated the 1st decade of the 3rd month, Cod. Ms. Asch 286 by the “auspicious day” of the 3rd month, but due to its being a copy of Cod. Ms. Asch 285, one can suggest that this date also falls in the 3rd decade of the 3rd month or shortly before. The Hermitage copy is dated to a day, but the number designating this day is illegible due to damage.⁴⁸ Since the day is designated by two figures, the map was drawn after the 1st decade, but most likely before the 3rd decade of the 3rd month, as during this time Daikokuya Kōdayū drew three maps. An interesting detail about the 3rd month is found in the translation and comment on the date of the Cod. Ms. Asch 285 located at its left margin,

⁴⁶About ten years ago, in São Paulo, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann discovered a large-format manuscript Japanese world map, currently in safekeeping at the Institute of Brazilian Studies (IEB) of the University of São Paulo. The map was drawn in 1886 by a Japanese person who, like Daikokuya Kōdayū, was not a cartographer but, as can be judged from the handwriting, was well-educated in the Japanese cultural tradition. The map consists of two hemispheres drawn on two separate sheets, each sheet separately dated, the first to the middle decade of the 1st month and the second to the 3rd month with no further details. This gives us a period of time between drawing the first hemisphere and the second, which allows an approximation of how much time it took to draw the first hemisphere—about two to two-and-a-half months. The hemispheres have different dimensions than the maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū, but are close in size, while at the same time being more complex, both in graphics and text. They still provide some basis for comparison. For a preliminary description of this Japanese world map, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann (2020).

⁴⁷To begin with, it is necessary to determine how many persons took part in the transcribing and commenting process. Iwai discusses Daikokuya Kōdayū’s authorship of Russian transcriptions and comments, in particular, see Iwai (1996b), yet the handwriting appears to differ across some maps. The Hermitage copy with German transcriptions and comments is a separate case. In addition, the handwriting of transcriptions and comments seems to differ in some maps. A meticulous analysis of the Russian handwriting of Daikokuya Kōdayū, and the issue of distinguishing between different authors of transcriptions and comments in his maps requires a special study that is beyond the scope of this article.

⁴⁸All other Japanese characters can be reliably restored by means of comparison of their surviving elements with dates given by Daikokuya Kōdayū on Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and 286, RGVIA φ4510π1Δ18 and the copy from the NAE, all drawn in the 3rd month of the 11th year of Tenmei.

where it is equated to March. If the Tenmei era had continued, its 3rd month would not have corresponded to March, as the era began in late April. It seems likely that, after spending almost ten years in Russia, Daikokuya Kōdayū still dated his maps according to the reign eras of the Japanese emperors but counted the months by the local calendar. The date given on RGVIA ф451оп1д19 by Adam Laxman, 28 April 1791, is difficult to interpret—whether it is the date when the source map was drawn or when its transcription and comments were completed. The latter seems more probable, but in any case it is the latest among the available dates.

12.3.4 *Reconstructing the Genealogy of the Maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū*

In addition to the dates of the map copies, two simple formal characteristics help us recognize the basic scheme of their filiation—the dimensions and configuration of the “maps proper”.⁴⁹ By “map proper”, we mean the body of a map without its decorative border and margins.⁵⁰ The dimensions of the map sheet should be distinguished from the dimensions of the “map proper”, as a more or less identical “map proper” may be drawn or printed on sheets of different dimensions. For the analysis of the cartographic properties of a map, only the dimensions of the “map proper” are important, but many libraries and archives regrettably give only the sheet dimensions. The maps with shelf-marks Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and 286 provide a good example of how considering only the dimensions of their sheets, as is the case in the descriptions provided through the links referred to above and in studies by Iwai, may be misleading. These two maps are drawn on sheets of considerably different sizes, but the dimensions of their “maps proper” are almost identical, something one fails to grasp from their sheet dimensions, so that one gains the impression that map Cod. Ms. Asch 285 is the larger of the two. The almost identical dimensions of the “maps proper” are not accidental in this case, as Cod. Ms. Asch 286 appears to be a copy traced from Cod. Ms. 285.⁵¹ They are also very similar in colouring, in particular their ochre borders, light brown on the inside with green outlines. In comparison, the dimensions of Cod. Ms. Asch

⁴⁹The comparison of maps by their configuration in addition to their dates was systematically applied by the great historian of Portuguese cartography, Armando Cortesão, see, for instance, Cortesão and Teixeira de Mota (1987), repr. of 1960, vol. III, pp. 55 and 59.

⁵⁰If a map is framed by a wide frame, as is the case of the maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū, the “map proper” is measured inside the frame.

⁵¹In this case the slight difference in the dimensions of the “maps proper” is the result of their manuscript production. The copying technique is not clear. Cod. Ms. Asch 286 contains traces of a pencil which was then covered by ink, and Cod. Ms. Asch 285 only ink. Thus the former may first have been roughly sketched in pencil after the latter. An argument in favour of this suggestion is that the contours of Cod. Ms. 286 are rougher than those of Cod. Ms. 285.

284 (both the sheet and the “map proper”) are larger, and this also corresponds to some differences in configuration as well as colouring between Cod. Ms. 284 on the one hand, and Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and 286 on the other. The dimensions of the maps by *Daikokuya Kōdayū* are provided in **Table 12.1**. We were able to inspect and measure five maps personally—three maps from the *Asch Sammlung* and two maps from the Russian Military and Historical Archives, for two other maps—from the National Archives of Estonia and the Hermitage Museum—we have had to approximate the dimensions of their “map proper” from the available dimensions of their sheets and the layout of maps on the sheets.⁵²

If we now compare the eight maps based on two simple formal criteria, that is, the dimensions of the “map proper” and the configuration of a “test element”—the southern end of Hokkaido drawn in the upper right area of the map—we can clearly distinguish between the following groups:

- (1) the initial copy (Cod. Ms. 284) drawn in 1789 in Irkutsk, which has medium dimensions for the “map proper” (62.8 × 125.0/124.2 cm) and a small part of Hokkaido
- (2) model A with large dimensions for the “map proper” (ca. 73 × 147.5 cm) and a larger part of Hokkaido (two versions: NAE and Hermitage)
- (3) model B with small dimensions for the “map proper” (ca. 60 × 119 cm) and a small part of Hokkaido (four versions: Asch 285 and 285, and RGVIA ф451оп1д18 and ф451оп1д19, and, in addition, the incomplete reproduction or version discovered in the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London—GREN1/5).

Taking into consideration that the map from the NAE dated to the 1st decade of the 3rd month and the Hermitage copy with the illegible date of the 3rd month both belong to model A, of larger dimensions, and were most likely drawn during the 2nd decade, while the three smaller versions—model B—were drawn during the 3rd decade of the 3rd month, plus one more smaller version before 28 April, we can conclude that in St. Petersburg Daikokuya Kōdayū proceeded from larger model (A) to smaller (B). At the same time, as we can judge from the digitized copies, the dimensions of the Japanese archipelago are more or less the same in all the copies, and the size of the maps is expanded due to the sea occupying a larger area. Taking into consideration that Daikokuya Kōdayū took at most six days on average to draw a map during his stay in St. Petersburg, and that in one case—Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and 286—the latter is copied from the former, one possible scenario is that he had a certain model or template which he could copy rather efficiently. In order to determine this, however, it would be necessary to inspect all the originals. The incomplete map discovered in the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London, may provide an additional argument in favour

⁵²Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann personally inspected and measured Cod. Ms. 284, 285, and 286, RGVIA ф451оп1д18 and ф451оп1д19. Ekaterina Simonova inspected, but could not measure, the map in the Hermitage.

or the supposition that one first reproduced a graphic template and then filled it out by placenames. Another interesting hypothesis to be investigated is whether Daikokuya Kōdayū produced and reproduced his maps alone or worked with a team of assistants. This would explain some differences in depictions of Fuji Mount and castles between the maps.

For a more refined reconstruction of the filiation scheme, it would be necessary to enlarge the spectra of formal criteria to include the colouring and further cartographic symbols. For instance, as we can see from **Table 12.1**, from the point of view of the use of just a few symbols—among them the marking or not of Miyako with a red circle—and the colour scheme used for delineation of the map's frame and borderlines, three of the four maps following model B—Cod. Ms. 285 and 286 and RGVIA ф451оп1д18—form a set of maps, one copied from another. This is not surprising, as they were drawn about the same time—the 3rd decade of the 3rd month, which was equivalent to March 1791. In comparison, the fourth map following model B—RGVIA ф451оп1д19, dated 28 April 1791 by Adam Laxman—stands apart in its colour scheme and, unlike the three other maps following model B, contains the marking of Miyako with a red circle.⁵³ From the point of view of the placement of Mount Fuji, the initial map Cod. Ms. Asch 284 differs from all the other copies—here it is located farther from the coast than in all the other maps. This slight displacement, as well as the different areas of the sea in models A and B are illustrative of the fact that such slight shifts and deviations are a common attribute of relational diagrammatic maps not aiming at accuracy, as the maps convey a general picture of relative positions, and not locations drawn to scale.

12.4 Acquisition History as an Illustration of a Map's Reception: The Case of the *Asch Sammlung*⁵⁴

The acquisition history of a map can provide important evidence concerning the map's reception, especially if, as in the case of maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū in the *Asch Sammlung*, almost every step in this history is well documented.

⁵³ In order to determine whether the RGVIA ф451оп1д18 precedes Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and 286 or follows them, one needs to examine its original. Taking into consideration the rather careless signature and date on the map—in contrast to all his other signatures and dates neatly written along vertical lines, the signature and date in RGVIA ф451оп1д18 are curved to the left, as if the author did not care to adopt a convenient writing position, being a bit exhausted by this work. On these grounds we suggest that this map was drawn after Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and 286.

⁵⁴ Part 3 of the article is written by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and is based on her research at the Göttingen State and University Library.

12.4.1 *Baron Georg Thomas von Asch and his Donations to Göttingen*

The *Asch Sammlung* owes its foundation to Baron Georg Thomas von Asch (St. Petersburg, 1729–1807), whose contributions to the development of the Göttingen University library have been studied extensively.⁵⁵ His father Friedrich Georg von Asch had been persuaded by Tsar Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725) to move from Silesia to Russia, where he held a senior position in the Russian post office. Georg Thomas was raised in comfortable circumstances in St. Petersburg and educated by private tutors. In 1744 he began medical studies at Tübingen University. Drawn by the outstanding reputation of Göttingen physician Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777), von Asch moved there in 1747 to continue his studies at the new progressive Georg-August-Universität Göttingen (GAU), which had been founded in 1734 by George II (r. 1727–1760), King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover, and began offering classes in 1737. After receiving his doctorate in 1750, von Asch returned to St. Petersburg and joined the Russian State Service. He became a municipal physician in 1752 and in 1763 Catherine the Great (1729–1796) made him a member of the Russian empire’s highest medical commission. He served as Physician General to the Imperial Army during the first Russian-Turkish War (1768–1774) and subsequently, in 1777, Catherine the Great appointed him Councillor of State. Von Asch also formed a long-time friendship with his contemporary Christian Gottlob Heyne (Chemnitz, 1729—Göttingen, 1812), professor of classical philology and the *Leiter* of the Göttingen Library from 1763 to 1812. Von Asch sent his first gift of books and manuscripts to Göttingen in 1771, and the last arrived one year before his death in 1806. After he became a foreign member of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences, the number of gifts that he sent to the university library increased considerably. The materials included various manuscripts, including maps, as well as printed maps, books, pictures, medals, minerals, plants, native skulls, clothes, and other items of scientific interest. This collection reflected both von Asch’s close relationships to scholars in Russia who engaged in Russian expeditions to Siberia in the second half of the eighteenth century and his contacts with distant regions such as Siberia. Von Asch’s collection became the basis of the Göttingen University Library’s reputation as one of the world’s richest repositories of East European and Siberian material, but also of its distinguished collection of early maps.⁵⁶ His donation symbolized not only his personal connection to Göttingen, his *alma mater*, but also the University Library’s early emphasis—unusual for the time—on collecting materials related to particular geographic regions.

⁵⁵ See Buchholz (1961), Rohfing (1998, 2003), Hauser-Schäubling and Krüger (2007).

⁵⁶ There are 176 printed volumes and manuscripts and approximately 179 eighteenth-century hand-drawn or printed maps in the library’s *Russica* and *Itineraria* collections.

12.4.2 *The Asch Projects, Catalogues, and Databases as Research Instruments*

In recent decades, the *Asch Sammlung* became the subject of two collaborative research projects. The international *Meeting of Frontiers Project / Встреча на границах* (1999–2003), mentioned briefly above, is presented in a bilingual, multimedia English-Russian digital library that tells the story of the American exploration and settlement of the West, the parallel exploration and settlement of Siberia and the Russian Far East, and the meeting of the Russian-American frontier in Alaska and the Pacific Northwest.⁵⁷ In the framework of this project, a useful digital catalogue of cartographic items collected by von Asch was compiled.⁵⁸ However, the focus of the project was on Siberia and Alaska, East Asia was only of minor interest. The same applies to one of the issues of the project, the substantial catalogue of the von Asch collection of Siberian and Russian-American items published in 2007, most of which are now in the holdings of the *Institut für Ethnologie und Ethnologische Sammlung* (Institute for Ethnology and the Ethnological Collection) in Göttingen.⁵⁹ The catalogue provides a comprehensive overview of von Asch's collection relevant to Siberia, but maps are not the authors' main concern, and only two examples were reproduced in the catalogue.⁶⁰

The second *Asch* project—*Entwicklung von interoperablen Standards für die Kontextualisierung heterogener Objekte am Beispiel der Provenienz Asch* (2014–2018) supported by the DFG—was primarily concerned with methods of description and the digitization of all the items without distinguishing between their areas of provenance. It paid special attention to written manuscript items, and in particular to von Asch's correspondence with Heyne.⁶¹ Von Asch mainly wrote in three languages—German, Russian, and French. In more than 120 letters to Heyne, he meticulously listed and annotated the items he donated, and he signed

⁵⁷ <https://webarchive.loc.gov/all/20050225214711/http://frontiers.loc.gov/intldl/mtfhtml/mf splash.html>. Accessed: 10 March 2021.

⁵⁸ <http://frontiers.loc.gov/intldl/mtfhtml/mfdigcol/subcoll.html>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. The maps are listed alphabetically.

⁵⁹ Hauser-Schäublin and Krüger (2007).

⁶⁰ Both maps are placed on the endpapers; front: the map of Siberia relevant to the First Kamchatka expedition (1725–1730) with depictions of the Siberian peoples (1729, Cod. Ms. Asch 246; for a digital image of the map, see <https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN349593140>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. For a short description, see <https://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3640298>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. Back: the perspective map of the Russian-Chinese border around Kyachta and Naimachin (eighteenth century, Cod. Ms. Asch 269; for a short description, see <https://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3651070>). Accessed: 10 March 2021. They are among the most famous cartographic items in the *Asch Sammlung*.

⁶¹ http://asch.wiki.gwdg.de/index.php/Main_Page. Accessed: 10 March 2021.

<http://www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/projekte-forschung/projektetails/projekt/asch/>. Accessed: 10 March 2021.

and dated his letters at the end. Heyne in turn marked the day of their acquisition in the upper left corner of each of von Asch's letters.⁶² These precious documents thus provide a rare means of tracing the acquisition of the majority of the *Asch* items. The letters and other related documents were chronologically arranged and divided into six files, and by definition were rather difficult material to work with. Their digitization for online consultation and free download made them much more convenient for investigation, even if digital images can never completely replace originals as a historical source.⁶³

Two other helpful sources, and at the same time research instruments, should be mentioned here: the manuscript and printed catalogues of the *Asch Sammlung*. Several manuscript catalogues were compiled for the *Asch Sammlung*, entries 5–10 in the general list of manual catalogues:⁶⁴

- Alphabetical catalogue of the *Asch* library (no. 5)
- Catalogue by year of dispatch, relying on *Asch* correspondence (no. 6)
- Catalogue of books (no. 7)
- Catalogue of maps [*Landkarten*] (no. 8)
- Catalogue of military maps (no. 9)
- Catalogue of perspective maps [*Prospekte*] (no. 10)

These catalogues have not yet been digitized, but they are based on *Asch*'s correspondence. In 1894, a printed catalogue of manuscript items of the *Asch Sammlung* was published, the entries of which summarize the data from the *Asch* correspondence and the manuscript catalogues.⁶⁵

12.4.3 *Japanese Items in the Asch Sammlung: The Means of Acquisition*

Entries concerning the Japanese manuscript items in the *Asch* correspondence had not previously been researched, and the dynamic history of their transmission inside Russia and thence to Göttingen, which can be traced sometimes to the exact day, is revealed in this study for the first time.⁶⁶

⁶² Some lists and annotations exist in two copies, as von Asch sent one copy to Heyne separately, and one enclosed with the donations.

⁶³ For the *Asch* correspondence, see <https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/collection/aschiana>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. The *Asch* correspondence bears the shelf-mark Cod. Ms. Asch 1: 1 and 2, and is arranged in six files according to the years when they were received.

⁶⁴ Manuscript catalogues bear the Shelf-mark Bibl. Arch. Kataloge 0.

⁶⁵ *Verzeichniss der Handschriften im Preussischen Staate*. I—Hannover—3, Göttingen 3. (1894).

⁶⁶ A brief survey of Daikokuya Kōdayū-related items at the Göttingen University Library was drawn up by Rohlfing (2003), pp. 293–295.

Four groups of entries relating to Japanese manuscript items can be found in the *Asch* correspondence. In addition, there is one item not listed in the correspondence, indicating that there were some other occasional means of transmitting documents.

- (1) **Items 1 and 2 (Cod. Ms. Asch 148 and Cod. Ms. Asch 149)**⁶⁷ are both manuscript Russian-Japanese dictionaries, although the former is mistakenly referred to as Russian-Manchurian. They do not contain any authorship attribution but are both dated below the titles to 1788, the year Daikokuya Kōdayū went to Irkutsk. The title of Cod. Ms. Asch 149 is written in Russian and in German (Словарь Славено-Японский / Slavonisch-Japanisches Wörterbuch. 1788), and that of Cod. Ms. Asch 148 only in German, and erroneously (Russisch-Mansurisches Wörterbuch. 1788).⁶⁸ They are also stamped by the “Asch donation” stamp on the back of the title pages. Both titles were written by von Asch. Both dictionaries use only Cyrillic transcriptions of Japanese words and expressions in alphabetical order, but Cod. Ms. Asch 149 is about four times larger than Cod. Ms. 148. Several hands can be detected in their writing. The dictionaries were sent together from St. Petersburg on 6/17 January 1790. Von Asch dated his letters according to the Julian calendar (here 6 January 1790) while also giving the corresponding date in the Gregorian calendar (here 17 January 1790) used in the Russian Empire and in Europe, respectively.⁶⁹ It took quite some time for them to reach Göttingen—on 5 October 1790, according to the Gregorian calendar, when Daikokuya Kōdayū and Laxman were still in Irkutsk or on their way to St. Petersburg. This means that if the dictionaries were written in Irkutsk, they should have been sent first to St. Petersburg, as was the case with map Cod. Ms. Asch 284, the acquisition history of which will be described below.⁷⁰ According to the classification of the Asch correspondence into files (*Mappen*) and sub-files (*Archivalia*), these items are listed as follows. For convenience the references are accompanied by the extracts from his correspondence (see Fig. 12.1).

⁶⁷These two documents were completely digitized in 2020 thanks to an order from the MPIWG (Berlin).

⁶⁸After several blank pages following the title of Cod. Ms. Asch 148 there is an added inscription in French “Dictionnaire de la langue Monsurienne ou Manchour dans le Thibet”.

⁶⁹Hereafter in all cases where von Asch gives two dates we adhere to his double dating system.

⁷⁰The dictionaries are written on different types of paper, but the sheets about the first quarter of Cod. Ms. Asch 149 seem to be of the same batch as those used for the map Cod. Ms. Asch 284, as is the letter by Daikokuya Kōdayū (Cod. Ms. 150) written in St. Petersburg and discussed below. Examining the quality and the origins of paper may provide some additional information for studying the circulation of the manuscripts by Daikokuya Kōdayū.

- (2) **Item 3 (Cod. Ms. Asch 151):**⁷¹ a manuscript book (花系図都鑑 *Hana keizuto kan* – the Sakura Hime legend, 1762, part of the book) mostly in cursive script. The book belonged to Daikokuya Kōdayū. He marked his name on its cover as its owner, written in Russian, along with a date (1791). The book was sent from St. Petersburg on 8/19 September 1792, after Daikokuya Kōdayū had already departed for Japan, and was received in Göttingen on 1 February 1793. It bears the “Asch donation” stamp on the first page (see Fig. 12.2).
- (3) **Items 4 and 5**—maps under the shelf-marks **Cod. Asch. 285** and **286** and listed only in German. The two maps were drawn in St. Petersburg, sent from there to Göttingen on 3/14 April 1793, and received on 22 June 1793. Both are stamped as “Asch donation” on the verso, and on both are collated extracts from the *Asch* catalogue of 1894 (see Fig. 12.3).
- (4) **Item 6 (Cod. Ms. Asch 150)** [not registered in *Asch* correspondence]—a letter from Daikokuya Kōdayū on two sheets of paper: the envelope sheet and the sheet with the letter proper written on the recto and verso. In contrast to the maps, the letter is dated only by the cyclical sign of the Pig Year (亥), which mostly corresponds to 1791, an “auspicious day” of its sixth month, that is, about three months later than the maps (亥, 六月吉日). The letter was intended to be sent to Japan with the aim of relating the bitter fate of the writer and his crew, but apparently it never was. On the front of the envelope there is a transcription of Daikokuya Kōdayū’s name in Russian, then in Latin letters, and, below, a note by von Asch that the letter was written by the Japanese man in St. Petersburg in 1791—“*von dem Japonenser geschrieben / in St. Petersburg 1791*”. It is not clear why the letter is not listed in the *Asch* correspondence. The only plausible explanation is that it was sent by another means. In addition, the letter does not bear the “Asch donation” stamp, although there is no doubt of its provenance via von Asch. On the back of the envelope, it is noted in German in another hand that the letter was received on 9 August 1793—“*erhalten d. 9 Aug. 1793*”—presumably in Göttingen. A complete digital copy of the letter is available on the website of the Göttingen Library.⁷²

⁷¹ <https://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3206922>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. This book contains a library card with notes concerning photo orders dated 11 December 1929 for Martin Ramming, the author of the earliest monograph study on Daikokuya Kōdayū in a Western language, see Ramming (1931).

⁷² For complete digital images of the letter, see <https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN349566488>. Accessed: 10 March 2021; <https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN349566488>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. See also short annotations of this document <https://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3206921>. Accessed: 10 March 2021; <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.ndlpcoop/mtfctx.g349566488>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. For its Russian translation, see Konstantinov (1961), also available on the *Восточная Литература* (Oriental Literature) website. http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/Japan/XVIII/1780-1800/Kodaj_Dajkokuj/text1.htm. Accessed: 10 March 2021.

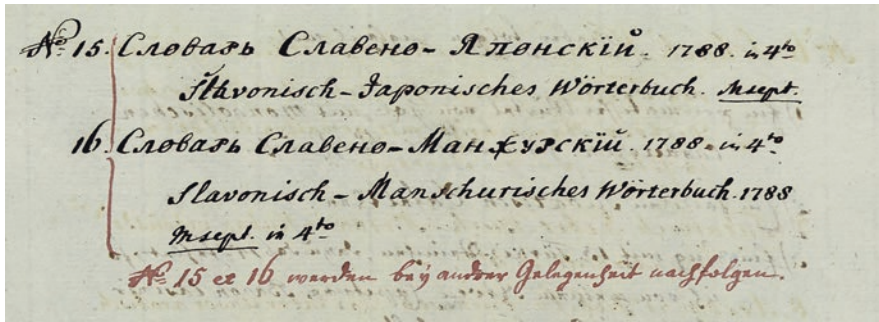


Fig. 12.1 Cod. Ms. Asch 1: 2. Mappe (4) 1788/92. Archivalia (3) 1790 (bl. 75–121), Blatt 105, no. 15 [Cod. Ms. Asch 149] Словарь Славено-Японскій, 1788, Slavonisch-Jarponisches Wörterbuch no. 16 [Cod. Ms. Asch 148, in reality also Russian-Japanese dictionary]. Словарь Славено-Манѣурскій, 1788, Slavonisch-Manchurisches Wörterbuch

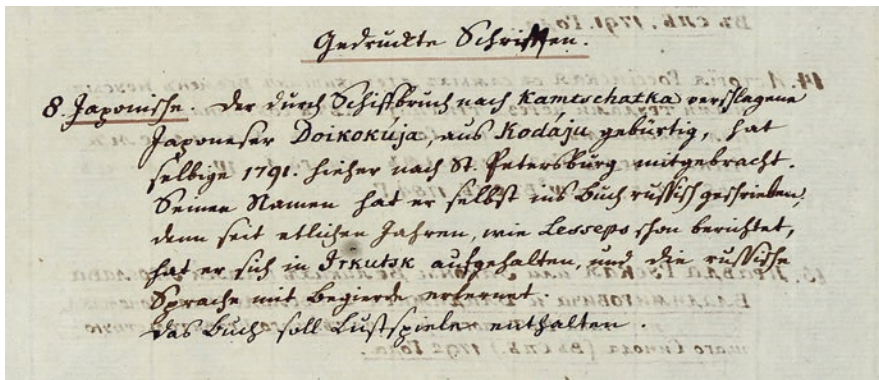


Fig. 12.2 Cod. Ms. Asch 1: 2. Mappe (5) 1793/9. Archivalia (1) 1793 (Bl. 1–37), Blatt 6, Item 8 [Cod. Ms. 151]. Long comment at the bottom of the page referring to Daikokuya Kodayū's stay in St. Petersburg in 1791

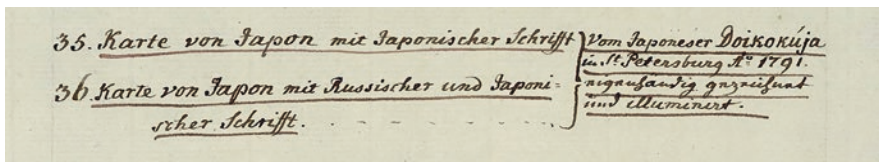


Fig. 12.3 Cod. Ms. Asch 1: 2. Mappe (5) 1793/9. Archivalia (1) 1793 (Bl. 1–37), Blatt 12 contains a long list of maps, including Chinese and the Japanese items placed at the end. No. 35 Karte von Japon mit Japonischer Schrift. Cod. Asch. 286, 'Map of Japan with Japanese writing'. No. 36 Karte von Japon mit Russischer und Japonischer Schrift Cod. Asch. 285, 'Map of Japan with Russian and Japanese writing'. For both it is noted that they are "Vom Japaneser Doikokija in St. Petersburg A^o1791 eigenhändig gezeichnet und illuminiert". ('Drawn and illuminated personally by the Japanese Doikokija in St. Petersburg in 1791')

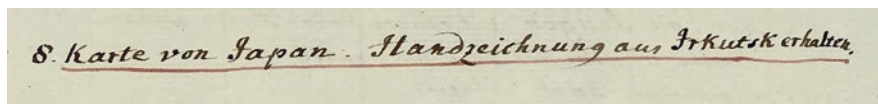


Fig. 12.4 Cod. Ms. Asch 1: II. Mappe (5) 1793/9. Archivalia (2) 1794 (Bl. 38–82), Blatt 42: the list of maps and prospects on recto verso. No 8 *Karte von Japan, Handzeichnung aus Irkutsk erhalten* ('map of Japan, manuscript received from Irkutsk'). Cod. Ms. Asch 284

- (5) **The 7th and last item** sent to Göttingen is the earliest map by Daikokuya Kōdayū (**Cod. Ms. Asch 284**), drawn in Irkutsk in 1789. Like Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and 286, the map is stamped with the “Asch donation” stamp on the verso, and an extract from the printed catalogue of 1894 is collated there. The map has an interesting note in German and Russian on the verso (on the left-hand side): “*General Karte von Japan. Aus Irkutsk erhalten. 1793 / Генеральная Карта Японскаго Государства*”. The note in German is in von Asch’s hand, so there is no doubt that it was he who received the map. He then sent the map from St. Petersburg on 22 May / 2 June 1794. It was received quite soon—on 14 July 1794. When describing the map in his letter, von Asch again stresses that it was received from Irkutsk (see Fig. 12.4).

Let us now sum up the acquisition history of Daikokuya Kōdayū’s maps and related items in the *Asch Sammlung* in relation to his and the Laxmans’ travels during the same period.

This Table (12.2) shows that almost as soon as Daikokuya Kōdayū and the Laxmans departed for the Far East, three maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū as well as his letter and a book he owned were acquired by Georg Thomas von Asch, who sent everything he had to Göttingen shortly thereafter. The last item—the earliest map drawn by Daikokuya Kōdayū (Cod. Ms. Asch. 284)—seems to have been intentionally ordered by him from Irkutsk for this purpose. These items were sent to and reached Göttingen over the course of the years 1792–1794. As far as the dictionaries are concerned, their direct relation to Daikokuya Kōdayū has not been definitively established,⁷³ but it seems hardly accidental that both dictionaries were published the year when he and the rest of his crew arrived at Irkutsk. In this case, the fact of their having been sent to St. Petersburg before 1790, when Laxman and the Japanese sailors were still in Irkutsk, is an indication of the effectiveness of the German-speaking community’s connections in Russia.⁷⁴

⁷³Iwai (1996b), pp. 3–4 does not include these dictionaries in his list of *Daikokuya Kōdayū’s manuscripts*.

⁷⁴The members of the German-speaking community in Russia—a community for whom German was one of the main working languages and to which Laxman, von Asch, and von Krusenstern all belonged—maintained extensive connections with one another as well as strong connections with German-speaking Europe.



Fig. 12.5 Map 1. Map of Japan by Daikokuya Kodayū (1789). Irkutsk, the initial map. Recto. Asch Sammlung, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen. Reproduced courtesy of the SUB Göttingen



Fig. 12.6 Map of Japan by Daikokuya Kōdayū (1791). St. Petersburg, model A. Recto. National Archives of Estonia (NAE), Tartu branch. Reproduced courtesy of the NAE



Fig. 12.7 Map of Japan by Daikokuya Kōdayū (1791). St. Petersburg, model A. Recto. The State Hermitage, St. Petersburg. Reproduced with permission of the State Hermitage, St. Petersburg



Fig. 12.8 Map 4. Map of Japan by Daikokuya (1791). St. Petersburg, model B. Recto. Asch Sammlung, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen. Reproduced courtesy of the SUB Göttingen



Fig. 12.9 Map of Japan by Daikokuya (1791). St. Petersburg, model B. Recto. Asch Sammlung, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen. Reproduced courtesy of the SUB Göttingen



Fig. 12.10 Map of Japan by Daikokuya (1791). St. Petersburg, model B. Recto. Russian State Archives for Military History (RGVIA), Moscow. Reproduced with permission of the RGVIA

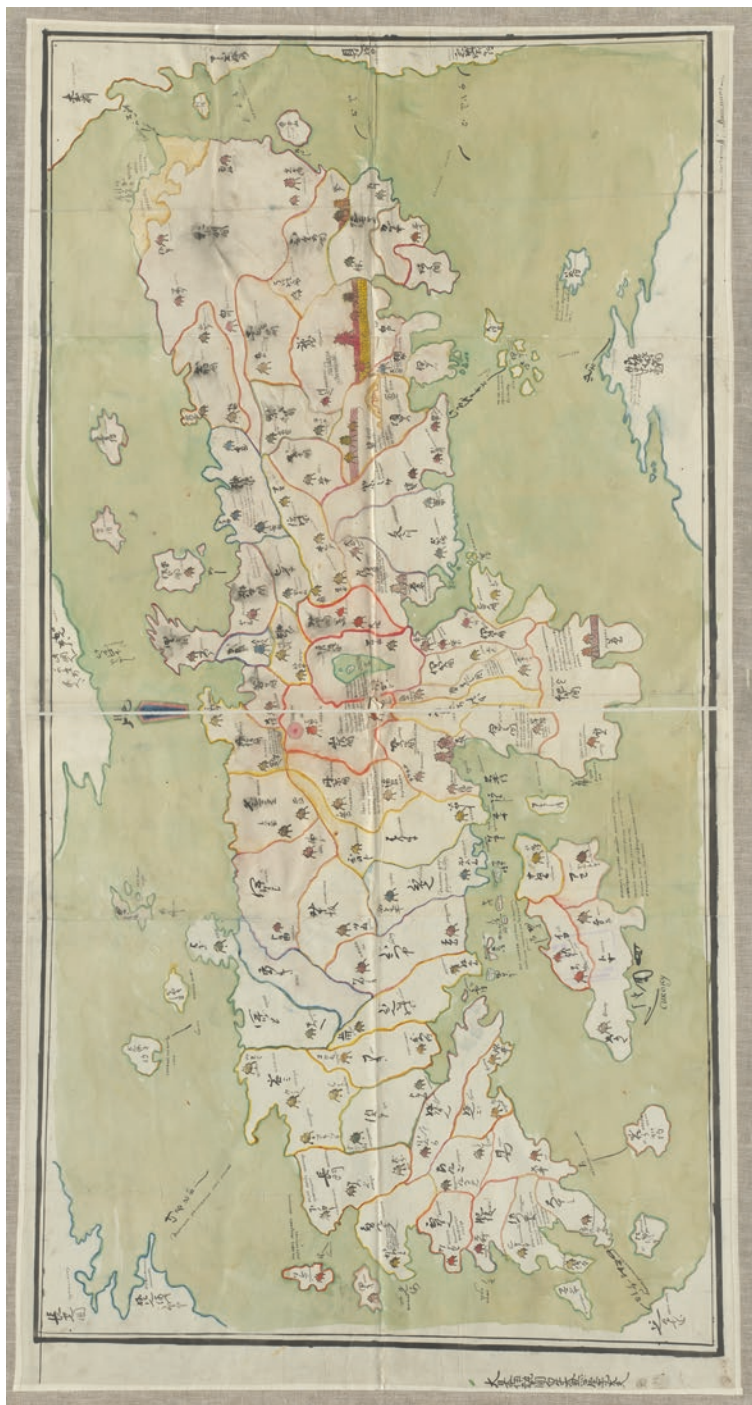


Fig. 12.11 Map of Japan by Daikokuya (1791). St. Petersburg, model B. Recto. Russian State Archives for Military History (RGVIA), Moscow. Reproduced with permission of the RGVIA



Fig. 12.12 Map of Japan by Daikokuya (1791, St. Petersburg, Model B). Recto, incomplete. Grenville Collection, the Caird Library and Archive of the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London. Reproduced with permission of the Caird Library and Archive



Fig. 12.13 Map 9. Dai Nihon koku no zu 大日本國之圖 (Map of the Great Japanese State). Archives of the Research Center for International Japanese Studies, Hosei University 法政大学 国際日本学研究所. Recto. Reproduced with permission of the Hosei University



Fig. 12.14 Map 10a. “CARTE DES ISLES DU JAPON esquelles est remarqué la route tant par mer que par terre que tiennent les Hollandois pour se transporter de la ville de Nangasaqui a Iedo, demeure du Roy de ces mesmes Isles”. From: Tavernier (1679).



Fig. 12.15 Map 10b. “Карта островов японских в ней же означен путь яко морем тако и сухим путем его же Голландцы употребляют в приезде своём из града Нагасаки в город Иедо где живет король оных островов”. From: *Opisanie o Yarone* (1734)

Table 12.2 Japanese manuscripts in the Asch Sammlung: The acquisition history

Date	Daikokuya Kōdayū and the Laxmans’ travels	Georg Thomas von Asch’s dispatchments
1778	Daikokuya Kōdayū arrives at Irkutsk, meets Erik Laxman.	Two Russian-Japanese manuscript dictionaries are written (place unknown), Cod. Ms. Asch 248 and 249.
1789	Daikokuya Kōdayū draws the first map of Japan (Cod. Ms. Asch 284).	
1790		Dictionaries sent from St. Petersburg 6/17 January 1790; received in Göttingen 5 October 1790 (Cod. Ms. Asch 248 and 249).
1791	Daikokuya Kōdayū and Laxman, together with Laxman’s second son Afanasy, arrive at St. Petersburg. Over the course of March–April 1791 Daikokuya Kōdayū draws six more maps (Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and 286, NAE, Hermitage, RGVIA ф451оп1д18, and ф451оп1д19), and in June writes a letter (Cod. Ms. Asch 150); there is also a Japanese manuscript book in his possession, signed on the cover with his name in Russian and dated 1791 (Cod. Ms. Asch 151). Permission is granted to Daikokuya Kōdayū to return to Japan, and he and Erik Laxman leave St. Petersburg on 27 November 1791.	

(Continuation)

Table 12.2 (Continuation)

Date	Daikokuya Kōdayū and the Laxmans' travels	Georg Thomas von Asch's dispatchments
1792	Daikokuya Kōdayū and Erik Laxman arrive in Irkutsk on 23 January 1792. Daikokuya Kōdayū and Adam Laxman arrive in Japan (the first entry in Laxman's diary is dated 13 September 1792). Erik Laxman sends a private letter to Bartholemeus Kratzsch from Irkutsk dated 22 December 1792 (Cod. Ms. Asch 182) ⁷⁵ .	Daikokuya Kōdayū's manuscript book (Cod. Ms. Asch 151) sent from St. Petersburg 8/19 September 1792;
1793	Adam Laxman returns to Okhotsk (beginning of September 1793).	Received in Göttingen 1 February 1793. 2 maps (Cod. Ms. Asch 285 and 286) sent from St. Petersburg 3/14 April 1793; received in Göttingen 22 June 1793. Erik Laxman's letter to Bartholemeus Kratzsch (Cod. Ms. Asch 182) received in Göttingen on 1 March 1793. Daikokuya Kōdayū's letter (Cod. Ms. Asch 150) received on 9 August 1793, presumably in Göttingen. 1 map (Cod. Ms. Asch 284) received by Asch from Irkutsk in 1793,
1794	Adam Laxman returns to Irkutsk (21 January 1794, last diary entry).	And sent from St. Petersburg 22 May / 2 June 1794; received in Göttingen 14 July 1794.
1796	Erik Laxman, Catherine the Great die.	

12.5 Conclusions

Despite all the good will and best intentions of such outstanding persons as Erik Laxman, who strove to work in the best strategic interest of the Russian Empire and encouraged Daikokuya Kōdayū to draw his first map of Japan in Irkutsk, as well as Alexander Bezborodko and Alexander Vorontsov, who urged him to draw more maps during his stay in St. Petersburg, but also the efforts to translate and provide commentaries on these maps, there was minimal response in Russia. Although the maps were meant to serve the interests of the Russian state, as one can see from the role of Bezborodko and Vorontzov in their drawing, and despite the expectation that they would have been collected immediately by state authorities and carefully preserved as documents of state importance, six copies (Cod. Ms. Asch 284, 285, 286, NAE, Hermitage, RGVIA ф451оп1д18) ended up initially in private hands, even if some of the persons involved, such as von Asch

⁷⁵ <https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN349563675>. Accessed: 10 March 2021.

and von Krusenstern, occupied official posts. Since the latter was a cartographer himself, the map of Japan included in his *Atlas of the Southern Sea* is the only case where the maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū might have had a certain influence, and this would indeed be an interesting question to explore. At the same time, this influence would have concerned only the map's content, as von Krusenstern's map of Japan is drawn according to Mercator's projection.⁷⁶

Three of these maps became part of the "curiosities" of the *Asch Sammlung*, together with some other Japanese and Chinese items collected by von Asch, but at least they were properly accessioned and attributed, and thus potentially available to the academic community from the time of their arrival at Göttingen University Library. It is noteworthy that von Asch received the map drawn in Irkutsk (Cod. Ms. Asch 284) during Erik Laxman's lifetime and most likely from him, so one can suggest that Laxman was well-disposed towards von Asch's enterprise of sending the Daikokuya Kōdayū documents to a reliable institution for preservation. As far as we know, the copies left in the Russian Empire were rediscovered only recently, and thus were not in much demand after Daikokuya Kōdayū returned to Japan. One of the factors that could have affected the reception of Daikokuya Kōdayū's maps is that he drew them during a rather unfavourable time. In the early 1790 s, Catherine the Great was approaching the end of her life and was no longer the shrewd and farsighted political figure she had been in her prime. She and Erik Laxman both died in 1796. The radical change in the government after her death, as well as the disappearance of such an active scholar as Erik Laxman interested in Daikokuya Kōdayū, certainly played a negative role in the proper preservation of these documents in Russia. What is more, Adam Laxman's expedition was not considered particularly successful.⁷⁷

The main reason these maps were not recognized as documents of state importance and do not seem to have much influence on the mapping of Japan in Russia and in the West is that, despite the attempt to translate these maps through the transcription of toponyms and extensive comments, they remained largely incomprehensible to an audience trained in the modern Western system of cartographic representation. One can conclude that the promising project of having maps of Japan drawn by a native Japanese and translating them proved to be a failure because the system of cartographic representation applied in these maps

⁷⁶ Both von Asch and von Krusenstern were members of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences, and since von Krusenstern was von Asch's younger contemporary, it is highly plausible that von Krusenstern knew about the maps sent by von Asch to Göttingen.

⁷⁷ The important result of this expedition—permission for the Russian Empire to send one ship per year to Nagasaki during the period of isolation of Japan—was completely missed at the Russian court. By way of comparison, such an old trading partner of Japan as Holland was entitled to only two ships per year. Erik Laxman applied in vain for state awards for the participants of the first Russian embassy to Japan and tried to organize the second, but the next Russian embassy to Japan—headed by Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov (Николай Петрович Резанов; St. Petersburg, 1764—Krasnoyarsk, 1807)—did not take place until 1803, following a change in the Russian government.

was too different from what was expected—that is, a map employing cartographic projection and scale and with detailed indications for navigation. None of these are in evidence in the maps by Daikokuya Kōdayū.

When Daikokuya Kōdayū arrived in Russia, knowledge of Japan's topography was reliant on the map attributed to Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (Paris, 1605—Moscow, July 1689), first printed in 1679 (see Fig. 12.14, **Map 10a**).⁷⁸ The Russian version of this map was first printed in 1734, and thus became the first map of Japan printed in Russia (see Fig. 12.15, **Map 10b**).⁷⁹ Comparison of the original French map and its Russian version clearly demonstrates the mechanism of map translation *within* the modern Western cartographic tradition—the redrawing of the map's configuration with all its cartometric properties and then the translation of its toponyms and other textual elements as is now the case in contemporary cartography shaped by modern Western cartographic tradition. Daikokuya Kōdayū's maps provide good evidence that this translation mechanism does not work between two radically different systems of cartographic representation. It is especially noteworthy that Daikokuya Kōdayū took a manuscript version of the Tavernier map in Russian dated 1786—that is, prior to his arrival—along with other sources back to Japan with him. This indicates that, at the time of Daikokuya Kōdayū's departure from Russia, the Russian authorities apparently still regarded the Tavernier map as the most up-to-date Russian map of Japan.⁸⁰

The Russian authorities who urged Daikokuya Kōdayū to draw maps of Japan naturally expected that, as a native Japanese and a sailor who by definition depended on good command of maps, he would draw a more detailed and accurate map than that by Tavernier, but instead he drew something completely different. The misunderstanding originated on both sides. The Russian authorities educated in modern Western science had a clear idea of what a map should be and believed that translation of the textual parts of any foreign map, with some comments added, if necessary, would make it immediately comprehensible. In the case of Daikokuya Kōdayū's maps, however, no amount of commentary on the cartographic content could help. In order to make these maps comprehensible, one

⁷⁸The map entitled *Carte des isles du Japon esuelles est remarqué la route tant par mer que par terre que tiennent les Hollandois pour se transporter de la ville de Nangasaqui a Iedo, demeure du Roy de ces mesmes Isles* was published in Tavernier in 1679. It was engraved by Jean-Louis Durant (Orleans, 1654—Geneva, 1718) after a drawing by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (Paris, 1605—Moscow, 1689). For general information about this map, see Walter (1994), plate 35.

⁷⁹The map was published in the *Opisanie o Yaponie* (1734).

⁸⁰A digitized image of this map is provided on the website of the National Archives of Japan under the title *Kōchō yochi zenzu* 皇朝輿地全図 (Map covering the entire [surface] of the lands of the August Dynasty [i.e., of Japan]). Its Russian title is “Карта Островов Японских...” (Map of the Japanese Islands), and it is transcribed the other way round—the original Russian toponyms are transcribed into the Japanese.

<https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/pickup/view/category/categoryArchives/0400000000/0404000000/00>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/pickup/view/detail/detailArchivesEn/0404000000/0000000538/00>. Accessed: 10 March 2021. For a study of this map in relation to the original map by Tavernier, see Iwai (1995).

had to either explain the system of their cartographic representation or try to adapt it to that applied in modern Western cartography. In this case, such adaptation would have meant the radical reconfiguration of the original maps, essentially the drawing of a new map.

Daikokuya Kōdayū, for his part, chose as the most representative image of Japan a schematic map deeply rooted in the autochthonous Japanese cartographic tradition, maybe because it was the only prototype he had in his memory and possibly at hand, or perhaps deliberately in order not to provide too much cartographic information to the foreigners. An argument in favour of the latter supposition is the absence of the strategically important Kanmon Strait between the *Honshū* and *Kyūshū* islands in his maps, the existence of which Daikokuya Kōdayū could not have been unaware. Whatever the reason, one can compare Daikokuya Kōdayū's maps of Japan drawn for the Russian state to a medieval mappamundi-style map that a Western traveller at the end of the eighteenth century would have drawn for the Japanese authorities as the Western image of the world. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, therefore, to find common cartographic ground, as such a map could only be comprehended in the framework of its own cultural tradition – within the entire set of culturally determined concepts that underlie its system of cartographic representation.

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- Map 1. Map of Japan by Daikokuya Kōdayū (1789). Irkutsk, the initial map. Asch Sammlung, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen. Shelf-mark: Cod. Ms. Asch 284. Coloured manuscript. Sheet: 66.0 cm x 127.0 cm; map proper: 62.8 cm (left/right) x 124.2 cm (bottom), 125.0 cm (top) (measurements by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann).
- Map 2. Map of Japan by Daikokuya Kōdayū (1791). St. Petersburg, model A. National Archives of Estonia (NAE), Tartu branch. Shelf-mark: EAA.1414.2.43 sheet 64. Coloured manuscript. Sheet: 75.0 cm x 149.0 cm (measurements provided by the NAE); approximated map proper: ca. 73.0 cm x 148.0 cm.
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- Map 4. Map of Japan by Daikokuya (1791). St. Petersburg, model B. Asch Sammlung, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen. Shelf-mark: Ms. Asch 285. Coloured

- manuscript. Sheet: 65.0 cm x 138.0 cm; map proper: 60.0 cm (left/right) x 119.0 cm (bottom), 117.0 cm (top) (measurements by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann).
- Map 5. Map of Japan by Daikokuya (1791). St. Petersburg, model B. Asch Sammlung, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen. Shelf-mark: Cod. Ms. Asch 286. Coloured manuscript. Sheet: 66.0 cm x 124.0 cm; map proper: 60.0 cm (left/right) x 117.7 cm (bottom), 118.0 cm (top) (measurements by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann).
- Map 6. Map of Japan by Daikokuya (1791). St. Petersburg, model B. Russian State Archives for Military History (RGVIA), Moscow. Shelf-mark: ф451оп1д18. Sheet: 63.2 (left), 62.2 (right) x 122.8 (bottom) 122.9 (top) (cf. catalogue RGVIA F. 451: 62 x 120); map proper: 59.8 (left) 61.0 (right) x 120.5 (bottom, very uneven), 120.1 (top) (measurements by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann).
- Map 7. Map of Japan by Daikokuya (1791). St. Petersburg, model B. Russian State Archives for Military History (RGVIA), Moscow. Shelf-mark: ф451оп1д19. Coloured manuscript. Sheet: 67.4 (left/right) x 126.7 (bottom), 125.6 (top) (cf. Iwai 2001, p. 5: 62 x 126); map proper: 62.0 (left), 60.0 (right) x 120.5 (bottom), 118.8.
- Map 8. Map of Japan by Daikokuya (1791), St. Petersburg, Model B. Incomplete Grenville Collection, the Caird Library and Archive of the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, London Shelf-mark : GREN1/5 Map sheet: 65.0 x 123.5 cm, approximated map proper: ca. 60.0 x 120.0 cm.
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Kapitel 13

The Translation Policies of Protestant Reformers in the Early Eighteenth Century. Projects, Aims, and Communication Networks



Mark Häberlein and Paula Manstetten

13.1 Introduction

In the Holy Roman Empire and the British Isles, the years around 1700 mark a watershed in the history of Protestant reform. In 1698, August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), a professor of theology at the University of Halle and protagonist of the religious movement known as Pietism, founded an orphanage in Glaucha, just outside the gates of Halle, which became the nucleus of a complex of charitable, educational, and missionary institutions.¹ A year later, a circle of reform-minded Anglicans in London around the clergyman Thomas Bray (1656–1730) set up the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), which sought to expand Christian education, spread moral values, and support persecuted Protestants abroad.² Finally, in 1701, Bray and some of his associates formed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), a missionary organization that sent clergymen overseas and supported Anglican congregations in Britain's colonies.

These initiatives were significant in several respects. First, whereas both the Halle Pietists and the London reformers remained within the fold of their

¹ Brecht (1993), pp. 475–480; Holzem (2015), p. 689.

² McCulloch (1949).

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respective state churches—Lutheranism in Brandenburg-Prussia and the Church of England—their institutions rested on the principle of voluntarism. Although the Glaucha orphanage and the SPG (but not the SPCK) held royal privileges or charters, they were mainly supported by private donations, collections, and, particularly in the case of Halle, tuition fees and commercial activities. Second, the founding of these institutions marks an important stage in what Alexander Pyrges has termed “Protestant expansion”³ and Ulrike Gleixner has called “expansive piety”:⁴ Protestant missionary efforts, which in the seventeenth century had been sporadic and largely dependent on individual efforts,⁵ now took on a more sustained and cohesive character as they could increasingly rely on transnational communication networks. Third, the German and British reform projects were closely connected. August Hermann Francke was the SPCK’s first corresponding member abroad,⁶ while men like the scholar and traveller Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655–1712)⁷ and the Lutheran court preacher Anton Wilhelm Boehme (1673–1722)⁸ were involved in both Halle’s and the London societies’ activities. Moreover, Halle cooperated with the SPCK on various projects: students and parcels of books were sent from London to Francke’s orphanage, reports about the English voluntary societies were circulated in Halle newspapers, and SPCK members visited the Glaucha institutions.⁹ The most prominent instances of collaboration between religious reformers in Halle and London were the recruitment of missionaries for the East India Company posts at Madras and Cuddalore and the resettlement of religious exiles from the Archbishopric of Salzburg to the North American colony of Georgia.¹⁰ Protestant reform in the early eighteenth century thus had a transconfessional and transnational character.

A key feature of the Halle orphanage’s and London societies’ activities was their involvement in numerous translation projects. In the first half of the eighteenth century they printed texts in more than twenty-five languages, many of them translations undertaken at the behest of their members. Apart from translations of the Bible (or parts thereof), these included foundational Protestant and Pietist texts, especially catechisms and devotional works, as well as grammars and language manuals to support the work of missionaries. These translations

³Pyrges (2015).

⁴Gleixner (2010).

⁵Wellenreuther (2004), pp. 166–167; Landis (2005); Häberlein (2017), pp. 350–353.

⁶McCulloch (1949), pp. 7–8, 16; Sirota (2014), p. 133; Pyrges (2015), pp. 69, 115. Some historians have cautioned, however, that the extent of Francke’s interest in England should not be overestimated, as he corresponded with the SPCK only infrequently and kept his distance from Anglicanism. Cf. Brunner (1993), pp. 47–48; Schunka (2008); Zaunstöck (2014), pp. 2–3.

⁷On Ludolf, see e.g. Brunner (1993), pp. 42–45; Schunka (2014); Sirota (2014), p. 138.

⁸Cf. Brunner (1993).

⁹Zaunstöck (2014), pp. 8–12; Schunka (2017); Schunka (2019), pp. 376–386.

¹⁰Brunner (1993), pp. 101–128; Walls (2006), pp. 112–126; Pyrges (2015), pp. 135–136 and *passim*; Frenz (2017), pp. 232–233, 250.

were aimed at various audiences, from like-minded Protestants abroad to non-Protestant Christians and “heathens”. By the early eighteenth century, Catholic clergymen had already accumulated a vast amount of experience regarding the collection and compilation of materials on non-European peoples as well as the translation of Christian texts into Asian, African, Middle Eastern, and American languages.¹¹ For Protestant reformers, this body of linguistic work provided a model but also posed the challenge to match—and ideally surpass—the efforts of their competitors in the missionary field.¹² At the same time, the presence of Catholic missionaries in the communities in which the Protestants were hoping to gain a foothold often represented a major obstacle to the distribution of translations.¹³

Given the close ties between Halle and London reformers and their overlapping goals, it makes sense to examine their translation activities in relation to one another and explore parallels as well as differences between their respective efforts. Our main questions concern the overall nature of the Protestant reformers’ translation activities: did they follow a specific translation programme, e.g. in terms of the texts chosen for translation and the languages translated into, or should we regard them as a string of loosely related projects and initiatives? What aims did the reformers pursue with these translations and how did they adapt them to their target audiences? To answer these questions, we explore a range of translation activities undertaken in Halle and London or aimed at enabling communication between both places. We also consider some of the difficulties encountered and strategies adopted while printing in foreign scripts—i.e. the “translation” of manuscripts into printed works. In general, our contribution takes an actor-centred approach that pays close attention to the initiatives and activities of historical individuals, their ties with other actors and missionary institutions, and the communication networks they formed. In the following sections, we first provide background information on the Glaucha institutions and the SPCK with regard to their major fields of activity and their leading protagonists. We then examine communication processes between Halle and London and the translation activities that were necessary to maintain this Anglo-German connection. Subsequently, we survey a number of the Halle and SPCK translation projects and

¹¹ See e.g. Durston (2007); Dürr (2010); Flüchter and Wirbser (2017); Boidin (2020).

¹² Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, one of the two earliest Halle missionaries in India, collected and emulated the writings of Catholic colleagues. Frenz (2017), pp. 237, 249. See also Müller-Bahlke (2006), p. 77, who shows that Halle’s emissaries were instructed “to look at the schools of the Jesuits, paying particular attention to their method of teaching and their advantages, by questioning them about these things”. In 1710, Francke asked the Syrian Christian Solomon Negri (on him see below), who was working for the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* in Rome at the time, to purchase books printed by that organization for Halle, particularly dictionaries, grammars, and Bibles in Portuguese and Tamil (“Malabarian”). Draft of a letter by A.H. Francke to S. Negri, Halle, 20 Sept. 1710. AFS/H C 838: 43.

¹³ Some examples are given below.

offer an assessment of their overall character.¹⁴ Lastly, we take a closer look at one specific project: the printing of an Arabic Psalter and New Testament for the use of Eastern Christians in London from 1720 onwards.

13.2 Background: The Glaucha Institutions and the SPCK

From humble beginnings, August Hermann Francke's orphanage in Glaucha evolved into a formidable complex of educational and charitable institutions housing thousands of pupils and hundreds of teachers at the time of the founder's death in 1727. The school system comprised a German and a Latin school offering free education for talented poor children as well as a *Paedagogium Regium* for tuition-paying pupils from wealthy families.¹⁵ Moreover, the orphanage housed several business enterprises—a printing press, a bookshop, a pharmacy, and a commercial distributor of pharmaceutical products—which together generated much of the institution's revenues.¹⁶ From 1706 onwards, Francke and his associates engaged in missionary endeavours in southern India, recruiting missionaries for Danish (and later English) settlements there. Starting in the late 1720s, missionary activities targeting Jews were pursued more systematically. The Halle Pietists also took an interest in reforming the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches and supported Protestant communities in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. Beginning in the 1730s, Halle moreover sent pastors to German-speaking settlements in North America.¹⁷ These projects were all sustained by an “image policy” that popularized Francke's work in a range of contemporary media (newspapers, journals, pamphlets, correspondence, engravings) and mobilized support from pious noblemen and -women, clergy, bureaucrats, and merchants.¹⁸ Although Francke ventilated ideas for a universal reform of Christianity and saw his orphanage as a means of spreading God's kingdom on earth,¹⁹ Martin Brecht has emphasized that Halle's global impact did not derive from a single preconceived plan but took shape gradually in response to a variety of impulses from associates

¹⁴ An exhaustive treatment of all translations printed by these societies is beyond the scope of the present article; nor do we offer a linguistic analysis of these translations.

¹⁵ Cf. Jacobi (2013); Holzem (2015), p. 691.

¹⁶ Cf. Brecht (1993), pp. 483–490; Brunner (1993), pp. 41–42; Holzem (2015), pp. 691–692; Pyrges (2015), pp. 117–119.

¹⁷ Cf. Brecht (1993), pp. 514–531; Raabe (1995); Wallmann and Sträter (1998); Gross (2006); Moennig (1998); Rymatzki (2004).

¹⁸ Cf. Müller-Bahlke (2006), pp. 65–71; Zaunstöck (2013); Gröschl (2013).

¹⁹ Cf. Sträter (2005), pp. 31–32; Pyrges (2015), pp. 105–106, 126–128.

and correspondents.²⁰ As we will see below, this also applies to the translation projects carried out in Halle.

The SPCK was founded by the Anglican clergyman Thomas Bray and four associates in 1699 with the aim of promoting Protestant missions, supporting charity schools for poor children, distributing religious literature to parish libraries, and extending aid to needy foreign Protestants.²¹ It quickly “became the impulse and the clearinghouse for voluntaristic renewal and reformation in Britain”.²² Its membership grew to 37 at the end of 1699, 106 in 1705, and 232 in 1720. The core members were also involved in the founding of the SPG in 1701, and membership in both societies continued to overlap to a significant degree. While the SPG focused on sending Anglican clergymen abroad, the SPCK concentrated on educational and charitable activities. As a voluntary association that recruited members by co-optation and developed a distinct organizational pattern of general meetings, board meetings, and sub-committees, the SPCK was detached from the hierarchy of the Church of England; at the same time, the participation of several bishops indicates close ties to the official church. Although clergymen formed the largest professional group (36 out of 106 members in 1705), the majority were laymen—gentlemen, lawyers, merchants, and physicians, along with a few peers. While most members attended meetings infrequently (if at all), “a devoted core of working members” emerged in both the SPCK and the SPG. According to William and Phyllis Bultmann, these were “often the lesser-known men who, through consistent participation in meetings, or by means of letters or deputies sent to the meetings to express their views, shaped the policies and development of the societies”. A salaried secretary kept the records, handled financial transactions, and conducted the societies’ extensive correspondence. In the SPCK, this post was initially held by the multilingual John Chamberlayne (1668/9–1723) and was taken over by Henry Newman (1670–1743) in 1708.²³

Brent Sirota has noted an “improvisational” quality in the early work of the SPCK, which pursued various projects “though they had formed no part of its original programming”. For example, it reached out to mobile sectors of the British population (soldiers, sailors, merchants) and became involved in ecumenical initiatives.²⁴ While it forged a network of contacts across the British Isles, the SPCK also expanded its roster of corresponding foreign members. The latter group included Jean-Frédéric Ostervald (1663–1747), a Reformed pastor and influential religious author in Neuchâtel, and Samuel Urlsperger (1685–1772), the

²⁰ Brecht (1993), p. 514; cf. also Pyrges (2015), p. 134; Zaunstöck (2014), pp. 2, 6.

²¹ Cf. McCulloch (1949), pp. 5–6; Brunner (1993), pp. 23–25, 129–132; Walls (2006), pp. 107–112.

²² Brunner (1993), p. 23.

²³ Bultmann and Bultmann (1964), quote on p. 29; Brunner (1993), pp. 25–27, 71–73; Nishikawa (2005); Sirota (2014), pp. 115–121; Pyrges (2015), pp. 59–72, 86–90.

²⁴ Sirota (2014), pp. 111–112, 126–131, quote on p. 111.

court preacher in Württemberg and later senior of the Lutheran pastors in Augsburg. As a result of the interactions between English and corresponding members, the SPCK became involved in a range of initiatives supporting German, Swiss, and French Protestants. These transnational activities also highlighted tensions between the society's ecumenical stance and its role as a vehicle of Anglican confessionalism.²⁵ In general, the SPCK's "dual institutional structure of a vast network and a tightly organized headquarters"²⁶ had a significant impact on its practices of communication and translation, providing the framework for a number of fruitful exchanges and "joint ventures" between London and Halle.

13.3 Communicating and Translating Between Halle and London

As August Hermann Francke did not know English—a language that few Germans learned in the years around 1700²⁷—and few SPCK members spoke German, a handful of multilingual individuals translated between Halle and London. According to Daniel Brunner, Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf "assisted" the SPCK secretary John Chamberlayne "in drafting some of the Society's letters to Francke".²⁸ In the opposite direction, Francke and other corresponding members enclosed "manuscripts and printed material not readily accessible in the British Isles" in their letters, e.g. "on continental Protestant minorities or Danish missionary efforts". As Pyrges points out, "[t]he society's London secretary and clerk [...] had the documents translated from German, French, or Latin, if needed, and then laid them before the committees in charge".²⁹

It was above all Anton Wilhelm Boehme who, in the words of Chamberlayne's successor Henry Newman, was "the life and soul of our Correspondence in religious affairs with Germany and Denmark".³⁰ Although he was never ordained, the Pietist Boehme became a chaplain at the German Lutheran Court Chapel in St James's Palace, which had been established for Princess (later Queen) Anne's consort Prince George of Denmark in 1700. He held this post from 1705 until his death in 1722 and was co-opted into the SPCK in 1709.³¹ Boehme translated August Hermann Francke's account of the Halle orphanage, *Segens-volle Fußstapfen des noch lebenden und waltenden liebeichen und getreuen Gottes*,

²⁵ Cf. Bultmann and Bultmann (1964), pp. 25, 46–47; Sirota (2014), pp. 132–142.

²⁶ Pyrges (2017), p. 99.

²⁷ Cf. Schunka (2019), pp. 410–424.

²⁸ Brunner (1993), p. 45.

²⁹ Pyrges (2017), p. 101.

³⁰ Brunner (1993), p. 45. Cf. also Gestrich (2014), pp. 38–39.

³¹ Brunner (1993), pp. 49–56; Pyrges (2015), p. 115.

into English. While this translation, titled *Pietas Hallensis*, may have been suggested by the physician and SPCK member Frederick Slare (1648–1727), Boehme undertook it on his own initiative, not as an official society project.³² In Brunner’s words, *Pietas Hallensis* “contained a narrative of the origins and growth of the undertaking from its rudimentary beginnings and stressed Francke’s dependence on the special Providence of God, which was detailed in a long list of miraculous particulars focusing on the private donations of individuals”.³³

Despite the fact that SPCK member Josiah Woodward (1657–1712) suggested the distribution of Boehme’s translation, “the Society voted against reprinting the whole book”, asking the Lutheran court chaplain for an abridgement instead. The SPCK acquired 500 copies of this short version in 1706 and had several revised editions printed in subsequent years. Part III, published in 1716, also contained Boehme’s English translation of a Latin letter Francke had sent to Cotton Mather (1663–1728) in Boston.³⁴ *Pietas Hallensis* attracted considerable attention in Britain and helped solicit financial contributions for the Glaucha institutions. Among other projects, an “English house” was constructed for the education of youths from the British Isles and an “English table” where German pupils could engage in conversation with the institution’s English-speaking guests was set up in the orphanage’s dining hall with the help of such donations.³⁵ These successes were in turn reported in the *Hallische Correspondenz*, a handwritten newspaper produced in the Glaucha orphanage.³⁶ Boehme also sent English tracts and pamphlets in praise of the Halle orphanage to Francke and his associates and suggested they be translated into German.³⁷

In addition to popularizing Francke’s works on the British Isles,³⁸ Boehme prepared an English and a Latin translation of Johann Arndt’s (1555–1621) *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (quoted hereafter as *Of True Christianity*), which was published by the SPCK. *Of True Christianity* was a devotional work that became a foundational text of continental European Pietism and a true “bestseller” of which ninety-five editions and twenty-eight translations had been printed by 1740.³⁹ Many of these translations were produced and printed in Halle.⁴⁰ Brunner notes that Boehme “worked hard to propagate” Arndt’s book, “including it in

³² Pyrges (2015), p. 114. On Slare, see Hall (1992). Müller-Bahlke (2006), p. 71 notes that this work was also translated into Dutch and Italian.

³³ Brunner (1993), pp. 82–84, quote on p. 84; cf. also Sames (1990), pp. 115–117; Pyrges (2015), pp. 114–116.

³⁴ Brunner (1993), p. 85. On Francke’s contacts with Mather, see Splitter (2011).

³⁵ Brunner (1993), pp. 87–93; Zaunstöck (2014), p. 14; Jacobi (2014); Schunka (2017), pp. 146–148; Schunka (2019), pp. 380–381, 420–421.

³⁶ Zaunstöck (2014), pp. 7–8.

³⁷ Zaunstöck (2014), p. 15. Cf. also Schunka (2019), pp. 358, 367, 377, 379–380.

³⁸ Cf. Brunner (1993), pp. 136–141.

³⁹ Reichelt (2011), pp. 17–18, 23–24.

⁴⁰ See also below.

every shipment of books to America, giving Latin copies to the SPCK's library project in Wales, helping to bring out a French edition, sending copies of the Dutch edition to East India, and supporting the publication of an English edition in Scotland".⁴¹

Moreover, Boehme played an essential role in introducing English readers to Halle's missionary activities in India. In 1709, he and Joseph Downing (1676–1734), a London printer who regularly worked for the SPCK, published an English translation of letters by Halle's pioneer missionaries Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719) and Heinrich Plütschau (1676/77–1752) under the title *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*. The work was dedicated to the SPCK's sister organization, the SPG, and its president, Archbishop Thomas Tenison (1636–1715). The SPG promptly ordered 500 copies for distribution. In subsequent years, the SPCK became deeply involved in the work of Halle-trained missionaries in the Danish settlement of Tranquebar in southern India, for which it raised funds, lobbied with the East India Company, and commissioned the printing of the New Testament in Portuguese. In 1711, the SPCK recruited Jonas Fincke (1683–1711), a German schoolmaster in London, as a printer for Tranquebar—he died during the voyage there, however—and sent a printing press, sets of fonts, and paper to India along with money, three hundred Portuguese New Testaments, and other books. As the London society proved unable to recruit Anglican missionaries for India, it took the singular step of supporting the missionary work of another Protestant denomination.⁴² In 1714 and 1718, Boehme prepared two sequels to the *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*. His indispensability to this enterprise can be gleaned from the fact that a fourth volume remained unpublished after Boehme's death in 1722, as his successor Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen (1694–1776) "was unable to find someone qualified to translate" it.⁴³

The expulsion of Protestants from the Archbishopric of Salzburg in the early 1730s prompted a close collaboration between Halle, Pastor Samuel Urlsperger in Augsburg, and the SPCK secretary Henry Newman. Urlsperger and Newman jointly organized the resettlement of several hundred Salzburgers to the British American colony of Georgia, which had been founded not long before. As Urlsperger usually wrote in German, a language Newman did not read, his correspondence had to be translated for the SPCK. Until his death in 1733, this task was performed by Johann Christoph Martini, an assistant of Ziegenhagen. George Fenwick Jones, who has edited Henry Newman's letterbooks, shows that Martini used "a few Germanisms [...] such as 'upper servant' for *Oberknecht*

⁴¹ Brunner (1993), pp. 141–143, quote on p. 143; Gestrich (2014), pp. 40–41.

⁴² Brunner (1993), pp. 101–112; Müller-Bahlke (2006), p. 75; Sirota (2014), pp. 138–139; Gestrich (2014), pp. 34–35; Pyrges (2015), pp. 115–116, 135.

⁴³ Brunner (1993), p. 112. Schunka (2019), p. 368 points out that Jenkin Thomas Philipps, a Welshman who worked as a language instructor in Aldorf near Nuremberg before becoming a private tutor in the royal household and court historiographer in London, also published English translations of some of Ziegenbalg's work in 1717 and 1719.

(foreman) or ‘Country folks’ for *Landsleute* (compatriots)”. But in general, he finds that “Martini’s translations, while very free, usually render the precise meaning of the originals”. When Newman’s clerks could not read Martini’s handwriting, they left blank spaces in the letterbooks. Jones argues that “[m]ost of the mistakes in spelling German names must have been due to the copyists, who apparently wrote from dictation”. This observation is based on “their complete disregard for the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization of the original letters, to say nothing of such phonetically correct but graphically wrong renditions as ‘the wholly Roman Empire.’”⁴⁴

In sum, translation processes between Halle and London served several purposes: they enabled communication between the Glaucha institutions and the SPCK, promoted the reception of Pietist writings among Anglicans and vice versa, thus calling attention to shared concepts of Protestant piety, and helped garner support for missionary activities. Even if Halle accounted for only a fraction of the English religious literature published in German translation between 1690 and 1740, as Alexander Schunka has recently suggested, August Hermann Francke’s collaborators and successors definitely played an active role in that expanding market.⁴⁵

13.4 Translation Projects in Halle and London

Francke’s Glaucha institutions are renowned for numerous pioneering linguistic and translational activities. Carl Hildebrand von Canstein (1667–1719), who co-founded the Halle Bible Institute with Francke in 1710, famously announced his intention “to print the Bible, and above all the New Testament, in all languages”.⁴⁶ The best-known linguistic work undertaken by Halle missionaries was probably that in India. According to Matthias Frenz, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg—one of the two missionaries who started the Tranquebar mission in 1706—had been alerted to the importance of language as the foundation of divine knowledge and human existence by his teachers Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) and August Hermann Francke. Ziegenbalg considered his proficiency in ancient languages essential for comparative linguistic work. In their efforts to come to terms with the foreign linguistic and cultural world of southern India, the Halle missionaries adopted a pragmatic strategy, initially learning Portuguese and conversing with the local population through interpreters, then gradually integrating Tamil into their practices of communication and conversion. Those activities involved

⁴⁴Jones (1966), pp. 8–11. Cf. also Jones (1996), p. 195. On Martini, see Jetter-Staib (2013), pp. 62, 88, 136, 187, 199, 217, 219, 221.

⁴⁵Schunka (2019), pp. 337, 343, 376–386.

⁴⁶Brunner (1993), p. 132.

collecting and copying Tamil texts, extracting word lists, compiling dictionaries, and recruiting native assistants. The efforts culminated in Ziegenbalg's translation of the New Testament from the Greek original into Tamil, for which he also consulted Latin, German, Danish, Dutch, and Portuguese versions. The Tamil New Testament was printed in Tranquebar in 1714. Ziegenbalg's grammar of the Tamil language (*Grammatica Damulica*), printed in Halle in 1716, and Plütschau's language instruction in Halle, which he conducted with the assistance of an Indian convert, helped prepare future missionaries for their work in India.⁴⁷ Some of the two scholars' successors, among them Benjamin Schultze (1689–1760), expanded their linguistic work to include spoken Tamil and other Indian languages such as Telugu and Hindustani. Schultze translated Martin Luther's *Der kleine Katechismus* (*Small Catechism*) into Telugu and Arndt's *Of True Christianity* into both Tamil and Telugu. With the help of a native speaker, he moreover translated the entire Bible into Telugu.⁴⁸ Despite the proficiency several missionaries achieved in South Asian languages, however, their practices of learning and studying these idioms were largely devised on the spot; they did not proceed from an overall programme conceived in Halle. Furthermore, Halle missionaries did not learn languages or translate texts for their own sake, but always in the context of their overarching goal of spreading the Christian message and contributing to building God's kingdom on earth.⁴⁹

By and large, these observations also apply to Halle's pathbreaking work with Eastern European and Oriental languages. Interest in Slavic languages was initially promoted by Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf, who authored the first grammar of contemporary Russian after his return from the Tsardom in 1694 and sparked Francke's interest in missionary activities there. At Ludolf's suggestion, Francke sent his former student Justus Samuel Scharschmid (1664–1724) from Livonia to Moscow. Although Scharschmid found the language exceedingly hard to learn, other Halle theologians in Russia as well as Russian visitors to the Glaucha institutions initiated processes of linguistic and cultural transfer. For a while, Francke himself took lessons with his Russian guests, and Ludolf facilitated the acquisition of Cyrillic font types for the Halle printing press in 1703. This enabled the orphanage to produce original religious and devotional texts and translations for export to Eastern Europe.⁵⁰ A key figure for the Russian translations was the Ukrainian Simeon Todorskij (c. 1700–1754), who spent six years in Halle as a student and translated numerous works of Pietist literature from German into Russian, among them several texts by Francke, a catechism and hymns by Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670–1739), and Arndt's *Of True Christianity* (printed in 1735). Swetlana Mengel has pointed out that Todorskij faced a linguistic

⁴⁷ Frenz (2017).

⁴⁸ Reichelt (2011), p. 24; Liebau (2008), pp. 202–203; Satyanarayana (2010).

⁴⁹ Cf. Frenz (2017); Liebau (2012). On the missionaries' Indian assistants, see Liebau (2008).

⁵⁰ Cf. Winter (1953); Brecht (1993), pp. 516–518; Mengel (2017).

dilemma. The Halle Pietists wanted to spread religious texts in vernacular languages, but in Russia, Church Slavonic was not only the liturgical language but also the language of culture. In the end, he opted for a hybrid between Church Slavonic and his native Little Russian, i.e. Ukrainian, dialect.⁵¹ According to Stefan Reichelt, Todorskij remained close to the original in his translation of Arndt but adapted the text to an audience of Russian Orthodox readers, e.g. through the “orthodoxization” of some of the terminology, omissions, and additional comments.⁵²

Halle also developed close ties with Protestant circles in Bohemia and Poland. In 1715, a Czech translation of Arndt’s *Of True Christianity* was printed at the Glaucha institutions, and a Polish translation followed. Czech and Polish translations of the Bible were printed in 1722 and 1726, respectively. The main linguistic mediator between German and Slavic languages in Halle was Heinrich Milde (1676–1739), who headed a group of Czech and Slovak translators and language experts. Milde’s team supplied numerous clandestine Protestants in the Habsburg Empire and Poland-Lithuania with religious literature.⁵³ Another initiative aimed at Protestants in Eastern Europe was Gotthilf August Francke’s (1696–1769) founding of a Lithuanian Seminary in 1727 for the training of Pietist Lutheran emissaries to the Baltic region.⁵⁴

Halle’s early activities in the field of Oriental languages are equally remarkable. While initially the study of Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic was closely linked to Biblical exegesis, these languages became increasingly important for missionary purposes over the years as well.⁵⁵ After his return from a journey to the Levant in 1700, the indefatigable Ludolf promoted the learning of Modern Greek and Arabic in order to further the renewal of the Greek Church. Ludolf also forged links between the Collegium Orientale Theologicum, founded by August Hermann Francke in Halle in 1702, and the SPCK, suggesting that young Englishmen should study in Halle in preparation for missionary work in the Levant.⁵⁶ It was on his initiative that the Damascene Solomon Negri (c. 1665–1727) spent a year in Halle teaching Arabic in 1701; he would return to the city in 1715 at Boehme’s behest. A Melkite Christian, Negri had been educated in Syria by Jesuit missionaries who had sent him to Paris for his studies. He later played a vital role in the SPCK’s effort to print the New Testament and Psalter in Arabic.⁵⁷ One of Negri’s students, Johann Heinrich Callenberg (1694–1760), founded the

⁵¹ Mengel (2017), pp. 160–161, 163; see also Reichelt (2011), p. 490.

⁵² Reichelt (2011), pp. 27–33, 42–43, 47–55. On Todorskij, his translations, and their distribution, see also Winter (1953), pp. 227–243.

⁵³ Winter (1954); Rösel (1961); Brecht (1993), pp. 520–521.

⁵⁴ Cf. Schiller (1994).

⁵⁵ Boehmer (2019), pp. 5–7; Brecht (1993), p. 519.

⁵⁶ Brunner (1993), pp. 155–158; Schunka (2014).

⁵⁷ On Negri’s trajectory, see Ghobrial (2017); Manstetten (2021). On the teaching of Arabic in Halle see Boehmer (1998).

Institutum Judaicum (et Muhammedicum) in 1728 for missionary work among Jews and Muslims.⁵⁸ He established a printing press that produced texts in numerous languages, including Yiddish, Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, Hindustani, and Syriac. Christoph Bochinger has pointed out that most texts in Oriental languages were issued in two editions—one with a Latin title page and preface, the other anonymously, without indication of the author or place of printing—mainly to avoid drawing the attention of Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries in the Levant. As was the case with most foreign language works printed in Halle, Callenberg chose basic religious texts such as the New Testament, foundational Protestant texts, apologetic tracts, and key writings of Halle Pietists as well as grammars and manuals for language instruction.⁵⁹

The Arabic texts printed by Callenberg for missionary activities among Muslims are a case in point. Apart from a brief primer of Arabic grammar, dialogues in Levantine Arabic dialect composed with Solomon Negri,⁶⁰ and translations of the New Testament,⁶¹ Callenberg printed several fundamental Protestant and Pietist texts. Between 1729 and 1731, he published Luther's *Small Catechism* in a translation carried out by (or with the help of) Negri as well as Arabic translations of a catechism written by Francke and Freylinghausen's *Via salutis*. The two last-named editions were prepared with the help of Carolus (Theocharis) Dadichi (c. 1693–1734), a Syrian Christian from Aleppo who, like Negri, taught Arabic in Halle and later worked for the SPCK.⁶² Callenberg also reprinted parts of Edward Pococke's (1604–1691) Arabic translation of Hugo Grotius's (1583–1645) famous apologetic work *De veritate religionis christianae*⁶³ as well as an Arabic translation of Thomas à Kempis's fifteenth-century devotional book *De imitatione Christi*. The latter translation had been issued by the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome in 1663; in keeping with Protestant convictions, the Halle version omitted references to the veneration of saints and the purgatory.⁶⁴

Callenberg's efforts to print Yiddish and Hebrew works for missionary activities among Jews far surpassed his publication activities in other Oriental languages. In 1732 he formulated a programme for the institute's printing press,

⁵⁸ Cf. Beltz (1995); Schorch and Klosterberg (2019).

⁵⁹ Bochinger (1995), pp. 25, 29–32.

⁶⁰ Both printed in 1729. On these, see Bobzin (1995), pp. 19–20.

⁶¹ Callenberg printed parts of the New Testament based on the Arabic text of the London Polyglot between 1727 and 1742; he also reprinted the SPCK edition of the New Testament in 1741. Bobzin (1995), p. 17; Bochinger (1995), p. 28.

⁶² On him, see Hage (2011) and Mills (2021).

⁶³ According to Simon Mills, Pococke omitted from his translation “the passages from Book Six (the confutation of Islam) which had no warrant in Muslim sources”. Pococke “saw the work's potential to convert Muslims”, but his main aim “was to strengthen Arabic-speaking Christians in their faith. In this respect, he was drawn especially to Grotius's Christian irenicism”. Mills (2020), pp. 209–210. On this translation, see also Toomer (2012).

⁶⁴ Bochinger (1995), pp. 28–30.

giving centre stage to the New Testament and tracts about it in Yiddish. The Yiddish publications once again included Arndt's and Freylinghausen's works.⁶⁵ Heike Tröger has highlighted some of the strategies adopted to facilitate the dissemination of these publications among Jews. The layout was designed in such a way as to make the texts indistinguishable from Jewish prints, at least at first sight; authors' names were either Hebraized or omitted and the place of printing was not mentioned. While the copies printed for distribution among Jews were exclusively in Yiddish and Hebrew, those for the missionaries contained a Latin title page and sometimes a Latin preface.⁶⁶ In terms of the number of conversions they inspired, however, the impact of Callenberg's publishing offensives was very modest.⁶⁷

Despite the Pietists' pioneering efforts in studying and translating languages that were not widely taught in early modern central Europe, it should not be overlooked that many of these activities were rather short-lived and depended on the initiative of devoted individuals like Milde and Callenberg as well as the occasional presence in Halle of skilled translators like Negri and Todorskij. The languages taught in the Halle schools on a regular basis were the standard languages of eighteenth-century education and conversation—Latin, Greek, and French.⁶⁸ The circle of men who learned and translated Russian, Lithuanian, Arabic, or Tamil, by contrast, was always very small. Even the Lutheran pastors whom Halle sent to North America in the eighteenth century did not learn English at the orphanage; in fact, they did not begin acquiring the basics of the language until they were en route from Halle to the New World via London.⁶⁹

In England, men like John Chamberlayne and Anton Wilhelm Boehme were obviously fluent in a variety of languages and easily acquired linguistic skills. Most of the SPCK's translation projects can be directly traced to these multilingual individuals.⁷⁰ In addition, Robert Hales, an Anglican who avidly promoted a union between the Church of England and the Swiss Reformed Church,⁷¹ initiated translations of two of Josiah Woodward's moral tracts "into both German and French for refugee Huguenots and the embattled Protestants of Orange and the Vaudois". Johann Jakob Scherer (1653–1733), a reformed pastor in St Gall and corresponding member of the SPCK, translated several English devotional and liturgical works and stated that he was "willing to translate into German or Latin any good book that comes from England".⁷² Meanwhile, other projects languished when translators worked slowly or negligently. When the SPCK commissioned its

⁶⁵ Rymatzki (2004); Tröger (2019).

⁶⁶ Tröger (2019), pp. 62–67.

⁶⁷ Cf. Schorch and Klosterberg (2019).

⁶⁸ Cf. Rocher (2017); Beims (2017); Kuhfuß (2017).

⁶⁹ Cf. Berger (2017).

⁷⁰ Cf. McCulloch (1949), p. 13; Bultmann and Bultmann (1964), p. 45; Pyrges (2015), p. 64.

⁷¹ On him, see Bultmann (1958); Duffy (1979).

⁷² Sirota (2014), p. 135. On Hales and Scherer, see also Schunka (2019), pp. 362–365.

clerk Humphrey Wanley (1672–1726) to translate a French work by Jean-Frédéric Ostervald (1663–1747), the Reformed pastor in Neuchâtel, “years went by and the job remained unfinished”.⁷³ Wanley eventually completed his English translation of Ostervald’s *Catéchisme ou instruction dans la religion chrétienne* with the help of George Stanhope (1660–1728) in 1703,⁷⁴ entitling the English version *The Grounds and Principles of the Christian Religion*.

As these examples show, the SPCK never developed a cohesive translation programme, but its core members did become involved in a number of specific projects.⁷⁵ This dependence on personal initiative becomes even more evident when the focus shifts from French and German to more “exotic” languages. In late 1700, Ludolf presented his “Proposals relating to the Instruction of the Greek Christians” to the society, proposing the preparation of a work that would introduce the “elements of the Christian Religion” to Greek-speaking inhabitants of the Levant. A few months later, a committee had prepared a short catechism “for the use of the Greek Christians” which a society member “promised shall be translated into the vulgar Greek by some Greeks at Oxford, and may be then printed and sent accordingly”.⁷⁶ In 1703, with support from several SPCK members, Ludolf published a Modern Greek translation of the New Testament he had prepared with the help of Papa Seraphim of Mytilene, an unfrocked Greek priest whom he had brought to England and who also spent time in Halle. However, the translation was poorly received in the Levant, probably on account of a preface written by Seraphim.⁷⁷ In 1710, a revised version containing both the Modern and Ancient Greek text was printed in Halle.⁷⁸ In 1707, the SPCK decided to grant aid in the amount of ten guineas to the Archbishop of Pochtan, who planned to print religious works in Armenian. The following year, “the society made a vote towards a reprint of the Armenian Bible, besides supplying a version of the Book of Common Prayer in the same language, together with other Christian literature”.⁷⁹

The SPCK’s efforts to promote religious instruction in Celtic languages likewise depended on individual initiative. As the majority of the Welsh population

⁷³ Bultmann and Bultmann (1964), p. 32.

⁷⁴ Sirota (2014), p. 135.

⁷⁵ Cf. Bultmann and Bultmann (1964), pp. 46–47: “Most [...] key members took an abiding interest in the publishing projects of the two societies [SPCK and SPG]. [...] The translation of August Francke’s *Pietas Hallensis* involved Slare and Philipps, the S.P.G. plan to print an English-Dutch version of the Book of Common Prayer engaged Butler, King and Chamberlayne, the various works of J.F. Ostervald were pursued through translation and publication for the S.P.C.K. by Shute, Chamberlayne, Nelson and Hoare, spurred on by the two S.P.G. secretaries for foreign correspondence, William Nichols and Claude G. LaMothe.”

⁷⁶ Allen and McClure (1898), pp. 200–201; McCulloch (1949), p. 13; Brunner (1993), pp. 157–158.

⁷⁷ Brunner (1993), pp. 157–158.

⁷⁸ Moennig (1998), p. 312.

⁷⁹ Allen and McClure (1898), p. 205.

was Anglican by the early eighteenth century, the aim of the society's work there was not conversion but rather education and the promotion of piety.⁸⁰ In 1701, the society asked Dr John Evans (c. 1652–1724), the Bishop of Bangor, to “bring to the next meeting a List of such Welsh Books as are proper to be sent to the Correspondents in Wales”; Evans accordingly submitted a list of thirty-seven works. The SPCK decided to start with four moral tracts and called upon Evans “to find out a fitt person who may translate [them] into Welch”.⁸¹ By 1740, the society had initiated or supported translations of more than thirty devotional works, sermons, and moral tracts into Welsh. While most translations were from the English, Grotius's *De Veritate* was translated from the Latin original. These efforts culminated in a new edition of the Welsh Bible, published in 1718 after five years of preparation. This edition, which was mainly the work of the translator and editor Moses Williams (1685–1742), proved very popular, as 10,000 copies were reportedly sold, and a second edition came out in 1727. By the 1730s, however, “demand for new Welsh translations became less marked, and, with occasional exceptions, books already translated now satisfied its members”.⁸²

Two years earlier, the society had supported the printing of a Book of Common Prayer in Gaelic.⁸³ This project was instigated by John Richardson (1664–1747), an Anglican rector in County Cavan who also commissioned the printing of Irish versions of the Bible, several sermons, and a catechism. As Andrew Sneddon points out, however, “the vast majority of the print-run remained unsold” and the SPCK stopped supporting efforts to convert the Catholic Irish after 1715. “Individuals worried about the state of Protestantism in Ireland had concluded that their money would be better spent on supporting charity schools. In these schools, Catholic children were to be made Protestant through slow linguistic and cultural assimilation.”⁸⁴ When Bishop Francis Hutchinson (1660–1739) sought to proselytize Irish Catholics by means of a bilingual catechism in orthographically simplified Gaelic and English in the early 1720s, the SPCK declined to support the initiative.⁸⁵

Overall, the translation projects carried out by the SPCK and the Halle Pietists did not emerge from a preconceived translation programme but were undertaken at the initiative of individuals who managed to convince these organizations of the benefits and feasibility of their plans. Some of these projects were rather short-lived or of limited success. The SPCK directed its efforts mainly towards commissioning translations for Protestants and Catholics, particularly in Wales and Ireland. Especially from 1730 onwards, the society narrowed its focus to

⁸⁰ Cf. Clement (1954); Jones (1994), pp. 142–144.

⁸¹ Allen and McClure (1898), pp. 204–205; Clement (1954), pp. 27–28.

⁸² Clement (1954), pp. 28–40, 166–171, quote on pp. 33–34.

⁸³ Allen and McClure (1898), pp. 202–204.

⁸⁴ Sneddon (2004), p. 41.

⁸⁵ Sneddon (2004), pp. 42–48.

Britain and the Empire at the price of marginalizing continental Europe and the non-British world.⁸⁶ In contrast, the Halle Pietists and their missionaries devoted much of their energy to translations intended for Jews, Muslims, and the native population of southern India. Some of these ventures were supported by the SPCK.⁸⁷ One group in which the SPCK and Halle shared an interest were Greek- and Arabic-speaking Eastern Christians; here, Ludolf and Boehme, and to some degree Negri and Dadichi, were the protagonists who connected Halle and London. It was in this context that, in 1720, the SPCK began considering plans to print the Psalter and New Testament in Arabic. In the following, we will examine the rationale, goals, and complexities of that project—which Brunner has rightly called “the largest venture of its type which the SPCK attempted”⁸⁸—in some detail.

13.5 Printing the Psalter and New Testament in Arabic

The observation that Protestant missionary endeavours became more organized and better coordinated in the wake of the founding of the SPCK and the Glaucha institutions also holds true for efforts to translate and print religious texts in Arabic. Such projects had been sporadic in the seventeenth century, when they were mainly undertaken by individual scholars and funded privately. A prominent example in the English context was the Orientalist Edward Pococke, who had served as chaplain of the Levant Company in Aleppo and later became the first professor of Arabic at Oxford.⁸⁹ He produced Arabic translations of an English catechism, of *Chief parts of the English Liturgy*, and Grotius’s *De Veritate*, and printed them either at his own expense or with support from individuals, or in one case from Oxford University. The distribution of these texts in the Levant seems to have taken place rather haphazardly.⁹⁰ The efforts undertaken by Halle and the SPCK to translate, print, and disseminate Arabic texts in the early eighteenth century still depended largely on individual initiatives and fortuitous circumstances. Yet these projects could now rely on the financial and ideological support of the societies’ well-oiled fundraising machines. Close ties to Levant Company merchants and chaplains or existing missionary ventures in the East

⁸⁶Pyrges (2017), pp. 107–116.

⁸⁷In the 1730s, the SPCK also subsidized the printing of religious works in Portuguese and Tamil as well as a Tamil grammar for the use of Halle missionaries. Cf. Allen and McClure (1898), p. 205; Brunner (1993), p. 126.

⁸⁸Brunner (1993), p. 161.

⁸⁹On him see e.g. Holt (1973); Mills (2020).

⁹⁰While some Levant Company chaplains, for example William Hallifax, distributed Pococke’s translations, the company itself was not involved in funding or disseminating printed materials. Mills (2020), pp. 205, 211–218.

increased the prospect of disseminating the texts. The societies also had access to large networks of experts and supporters, among them corresponding members, university professors, and bishops. As a result, their Arabic printing projects, in particular the edition of the Psalter and New Testament, were of a decidedly collaborative nature.

It was Anton Wilhelm Boehme who brought the proposal to print the New Testament in Arabic for use by the Christian communities in the Middle East before the SPCK in the spring of 1720; the idea of publishing the Psalter was born later.⁹¹ As far back as 1715, he had suggested to August Hermann Francke that Solomon Negri might be asked to prepare a revised edition of the New Testament in Arabic and Turkish. Boehme thought these editions would prove useful not only in the Ottoman Empire but among the Muslims of India as well.⁹² Brunner has argued that “the vision of the Hallensians” was “[t]he driving force behind this particular venture”,⁹³ and some of its protagonists were indeed closely connected with Halle. However, Simon Mills’s recent detailed account of the SPCK’s endeavour suggests that Englishmen with commercial or missionary experience in the Levant played a much more decisive role in moving the project forward. The most important of these was Rowland Sherman (1662–1747), an English merchant in Aleppo who was introduced to the society by Samuel Lisle (1683–1749), a former chaplain of the Levant Company in the Syrian city. Sherman had lived in Syria for thirty years and, according to Lisle, had a perfect command of Arabic.⁹⁴ In fact, he had already been working on a revised Arabic translation of the New Testament on his own initiative. By comparing Thomas Erpenius’s (1584–1624) edition, the London Polyglot Bible published in the 1650s,⁹⁵ and the original Greek text, as well as using the commentary tradition, Sherman had “perfected such a Translation of the New Testament as, I believe has never yet been seen in Arabick”.⁹⁶ Sherman enlisted the help of the Greek patriarch of Antioch, Athanasius III Dabbās (1647–1724) as well as a local Maronite priest to compare the Arabic text with the Greek text and the Latin Vulgate, rectifying “mistakes” and translating some parts anew. As Sherman pointed out in a letter to Henry Newman, this approach ensured that local clergymen would “look upon the Work as their own when it should become Publick”.⁹⁷ For the Psalter, he used an Arabic translation printed by Athanasius in 1706.⁹⁸ Sherman sent his manuscript copies

⁹¹ Brunner (1993), p. 158.

⁹² A.W. Boehme to A.H. Francke, London, 14 June 1715, AFSSt/H C 229: 89.

⁹³ Brunner (1993), p. 162.

⁹⁴ Mills (2020), p. 229. On Sherman’s role in the project, see Mills (2020), pp. 229–247.

⁹⁵ Cf. Hamilton (2016), pp. 151–154.

⁹⁶ Mills (2020), p. 229, citing a letter of S. Lisle to H. Newman, Oxford, 26 May 1720, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4 (letters received), pp. 16–17.

⁹⁷ Mills (2020), p. 231, citing a letter of R. Sherman to H. Newman, Aleppo, 29 Dec. 1721, CUL, SPCK MS D5/4 (letters received), pp. 79–80.

⁹⁸ On Athanasius’s printing endeavours, see e.g. Feodorov (2013).

and the printed Psalter to London, where they were to serve as the basis of the SPCK edition.⁹⁹ In the British capital, the SPCK commissioned the cutting of a new set of Arabic fonts by the type-founder William Caslon (1692–1766). Caslon worked under the close supervision of Solomon Negri, who regularly visited his workshop to correct the types.¹⁰⁰ In order to save paper and keep the binding costs down, these types were smaller than the ones used for the London Polyglot.¹⁰¹

In contrast to earlier private initiatives, the SPCK project had a far-flung financial support network to rely on. The society received contributions from subscribing members and even succeeded in securing £500 from King George I in 1724.¹⁰² However, the costs kept mounting, and the minutes of the SPCK Bible Committee meetings show that money was a constant concern, prompting the committee to devise various strategies for reducing expenditures.¹⁰³ The Psalter finally appeared in 1725, and the New Testament followed in 1727. The SPCK printed 6,000 copies of the former and 10,000 of the latter¹⁰⁴ as well as several other texts in Arabic, such as a catechism and Jean-Frédéric Ostervald's *Abrégé de l'histoire sainte*, both translated by Carolus (Theocharis) Dadichi.¹⁰⁵

To raise funds for the Arabic editions, the SPCK published and circulated a collection of letters it had solicited from clergymen and scholars—particularly those who had spent time in the East—in response to its initial proposal. Entitled *An Extract of Several Letters Relating to the Great Charity and Usefulness of Printing the New Testament and Psalter in the Arabick Language*, the collection came out in 1721 and was reprinted in 1725. A comparison with the original letters reveals that the SPCK had edited and shortened the letters in such a way as to emphasize the usefulness and feasibility of the project for potential donors, while omitting the concerns of some collaborators. It was no doubt a deliberate decision to begin the collection with a particularly long and enthusiastic letter written by Negri, an Eastern Christian himself and thus a member of the community the SPCK was hoping to target. In his letter, Negri criticized existing editions of the Bible in Arabic undertaken by Catholics and Protestants as either too scarce, too expensive, badly translated, or of an inconvenient size. He also offered information on the different Christian communities in the Levant and on the best ways to distribute the SPCK edition.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹Mills (2020), p. 232.

¹⁰⁰CUL, SPCK MS A32, 11 Dec. 1722, min. 8, p. 3.

¹⁰¹Mills (2020), p. 234.

¹⁰²Mills (2020), p. 237.

¹⁰³See e.g. CUL, SPCK MS A32, 11 Dec. 1722, min. 5, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴Brunner (1993), p. 160.

¹⁰⁵CUL, SPCK MS A32, 27 Aug. 1728, min. 3–6, p. 70 and 8 Oct. 1728, min. 5–8, p. 72; see also Mills (2020), p. 242.

¹⁰⁶*An Extract (1725)*, pp. 5–11. For a detailed assessment of Negri's letter, see Mills (2020), pp. 225–227.

Overall, the collection of letters portrayed the project as “a Work of great Charity” towards the poor Christians of the Middle East.¹⁰⁷ An expression of support signed by Anglican bishops and archbishops appeared on the first pages of the 1725 reprint and declared that the dissemination of the New Testament and Psalter in Arabic would help to “preserve and propagate the Christian Faith among our Brethren in Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and other Eastern Countries from whence We first received it”.¹⁰⁸ Although Christianity originated in Palestine, most Christians there were now “without the Scriptures, and know no further thereof than what they hear read in their publick Assemblies”.¹⁰⁹ The letters explained this alleged lack of access to their own sacred texts, “their unhappy Darkness for Want of Copies of the New Testament”,¹¹⁰ by pointing out that manuscripts were expensive and the local Christians very poor. Moreover, printing had been forbidden by the Ottoman authorities.¹¹¹ According to Lisle, the results were “Ignorance, and Corruptions, and Superstitions” among the Eastern Christians. Without assistance they would be unable “to have the Scripture in their Hands”.¹¹² Reverend Edmund Chishull (1671–1733), a former Levant Company chaplain in Smyrna, offered yet another angle on the matter: “It would [...] be an Act highly worthy the Care and Piety of the Society, if where the *Alcoran* reigns in *Arabick*, the Gospel, by their Charity, might be spread in the same Language.”¹¹³

The letters also stressed the widespread use of Arabic among Christians in the Middle East and pointed out that reading was widely taught. After all, a translation of the New Testament and Psalter would have been of little use otherwise.¹¹⁴ Reverend Henry Bridges (d. 1728), the Archdeacon of Rochester who had served as a Levant Company chaplain in Aleppo, wrote: “I assure you [...] that when I liv’d in those Parts, there were publick Schools not only at *Aleppo*, *Antioch*, *Damascus*, *Tripoly*, *Sidon*, *Jerusalem*, &c. but in most of the considerable Villages thereabouts, where Children were taught both to read and write *Arabick*”.¹¹⁵ Lisle, who had lamented the Eastern Christians’ ignorance, conceded that “the Christian

¹⁰⁷ *An Extract (1725)*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ *An Extract (1725)*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ *An Extract (1725)*, p. 13. A letter from S. Lisle states in similar terms: “those People without any Knowledge of the Scriptures, but as they now and then hear some few Portions of them read in their Churches”. *An Extract (1725)*, p. 15.

¹¹⁰ *An Extract (1725)*, p. 17.

¹¹¹ See e.g. *An Extract (1725)*, pp. 3, 7. The claim that there was no printing in the Middle East was incorrect, as Athanasius had printed an Arabic Psalter in Aleppo in 1706. Cf. Mills (2020), pp. 231–232.

¹¹² *An Extract (1725)*, p. 15.

¹¹³ *An Extract (1725)*, p. 17.

¹¹⁴ E.g. *An Extract (1725)*, pp. 8–9, 12.

¹¹⁵ *An Extract (1725)*, p. 23; see also Mills (2020), p. 228.

Clergy in those Parts have not so abandoned the Care of their Flocks, as not to teach them to read”.¹¹⁶

What the SPCK omitted from the printed extracts were the concerns voiced by some of the correspondents with experience in the Middle East. Their misgivings revolved around the alleged disposition of the target audience on the one hand and Roman Catholic missionary efforts among the same group on the other. Commenting on how the society might secure the support of the patriarch of Antioch, Athanasius, Lisle warned that the venture should “be conducted with as much Quiet and Reserve as may be, and that all Pomp and Ostentation be avoided”. Under no circumstances should the impression be given that the project was meant to be

an Assistance to the poor Greek Church; or an Endeavour to inform and enlighten Them [...]. Whatsoever we may think of the Low and Afflicted State, in which (God knows) they are, they have very Magnificent Notions of themselves [...]; and if Circumstances would permit, the Patriarch of Antioch would soon give the World to understand that he is the Successor of St. Peter. The Astonishment likewise which they all affect to express when they speak of the Learning which flourishes in Great Britain, is, in my Apprehension, a sufficient Indication that they think they ought not to be taught by us, and that it is a Disgrace to the people of the East, those Antient Nations of the Earth, to learn any thing from so upstart a Race, as (in reality) they consider us in the Western parts of the World to be.¹¹⁷

In a letter to Henry Newman, the clergyman William Hallifax (c. 1655–1722)—likewise a former chaplain of the Levant Company in Aleppo—voiced a different kind of concern. He claimed to have observed that “the People of those Countries, as well Christians as others, while I was among them” were in “great want of Curiosity and Regard, to Knowledge, or rather an Aversion to and Contempt of it”. He doubted that “they would be at the pains to make Use of, or improve by any good Books that were put into their hands”.¹¹⁸

As Mills has pointed out, the “greatest challenge in distributing the books would be the resistance of the Roman Catholic missionaries”.¹¹⁹ And indeed, Hallifax wrote:

Next the Multitude of Romish Missionaries scatter'd up and down all those Countries of Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia &ca. Who as they have done heretofore, will certainly use their utmost Endeavours to Obstruct, Frustrate and Disappoint, a Design, as in it's Nature so Beneficial, so like to prove so much to the Honour of the English Reformation. For it is not their Business, whatsoever some may think, to propagate the Gospel of Christ, but to extend the Authority of the Pope.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶*An Extract* (1725), p. 25.

¹¹⁷S. Lisle to H. Newman, Oxford, 11 July 1720. CUL, SPCK MS D5/4 (letters received), p. 24.

¹¹⁸W. Hallifax to H. Newman, Old Swinford, 1 Oct. 1720. CUL, SPCK MS D5/4 (letters received), p. 31.

¹¹⁹Mills (2020), p. 214.

¹²⁰W. Hallifax to H. Newman, Old Swinford, 1 Oct. 1720. CUL, SPCK MS D5/4 (letters received), p. 31.

Hallifax, who had already attempted to distribute Pococke's Arabic translations in Aleppo, reported that the local Capuchins had launched "a concerted effort [...] to warn the Eastern Christians away from the missionary entreaties of the English chaplains".¹²¹ Sherman recommended that the SPCK undertake the printing of the New Testament and Psalter as quietly as possible in order to avoid raising the suspicions of Rome. As Newman told Sherman, however, this was impossible for the SPCK, as it relied on voluntary contributions and therefore had no choice but to make its plans public. As a solution, Newman suggested

to accomplish the Impression with so much truth and beauty as to silence them and by taking no notice of the place in the Title Page, they may if they please assume the Glory of having done the Work at Rome, provided they will let the copies be quietly dispers'd under such cautions as you and our Friends in Palestine shall prescribe.¹²²

As a result of these considerations, the SPCK Bible committee decided to omit the place of printing from the title page of its Arabic editions (see Figs. 13.1 and 13.2).¹²³ In contrast, the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome had issued its 1671 bilingual Arabic-Latin Bible with a clear indication of its place of origin (see Fig. 13.3).¹²⁴ Concealing the provenance of translations into Oriental languages was, in fact, a strategy commonly used by Protestant publishers. Pococke had printed his Arabic edition of Grotius's *De Veritate* "without any name or title of Persons or place whence they come" and had it bound "in imitation of the Easterne manner".¹²⁵ He hoped that this would ensure a more favourable reception of the work among Eastern Christians and help avoid that "the good thereby intended might by some malicious men, under that pretence, be hindered"—most likely a reference to Roman Catholics.¹²⁶ As pointed out above, Callenberg adopted the same approach for his editions in Oriental languages.

An issue that plagued the Arabic Bible Committee for several years was the addition or omission of "orthographical notes", i.e. diacritics such as the *shadda*, *tanwīn*, and *madda* in their editions. In the Arabic script, only consonants and long vowels are represented by letters; supplementary diacritics (*tashkīl*) can be added to indicate consonant length and short vowels, e.g. when the meaning or grammatical case would otherwise remain ambiguous. For the SPCK, the main question was whether the use of diacritics would "render the text more intelligible to the Common People for whose use the Books are principally designed".¹²⁷

¹²¹ Mills (2020), p. 217.

¹²² H. Newman to R. Sherman, London, 21 June 1723. CUL, SPCK MS D5/4 (letters sent), pp. 2–3.

¹²³ See CUL, SPCK MS A32, 11 Aug. 1724, min. 3, p. 18. For the title page of the New Testament, the SPCK used a woodcut based on a design by George Sale. Mills (2020), pp. 235–236.

¹²⁴ On this translation, see Féghali (2012).

¹²⁵ Mills (2020), p. 211, citing two letters from E. Pococke to R. Boyle, 1660 and 1661.

¹²⁶ Mills (2020), pp. 214–215, citing a letter from E. Pococke to R. Boyle, 1660.

¹²⁷ H. Newman to R. Sherman, London, 23 Dec. 1724. CUL, SPCK MS D5/4 (letters sent), p. 5.

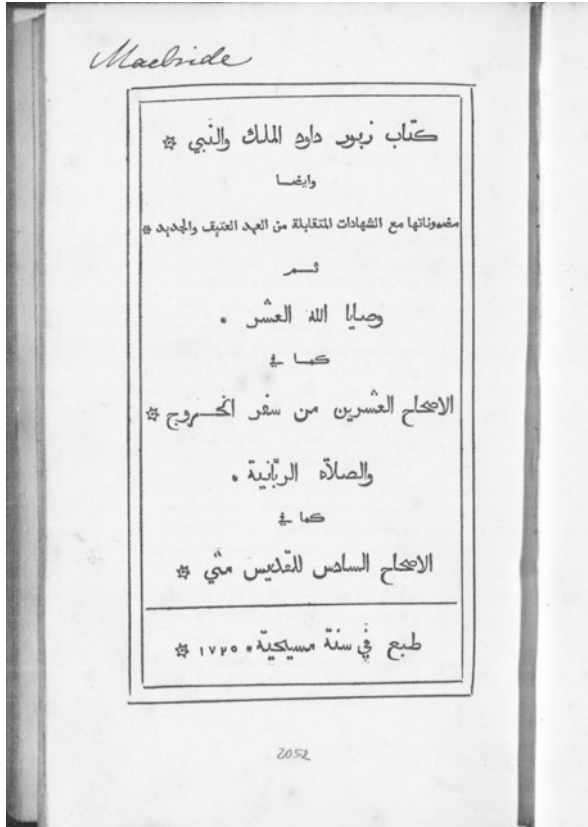


Fig. 13.1 Title page of the SPCK's Arabic Psalter: "Book of the Psalms of King and Prophet David, and also [crossreferences to] parallel passages of Scripture in the Old and New Testaments, then the Ten Commandments of God as they are found in the twentieth chapter of the Book of Exodus and the Lord's prayer as it is found in the sixth chapter of Saint Matthew. Printed in the year 1725 of the Christian era." *Kitāb zabūr Dāwūd al-malik wa-l-nabī*. London: SPCK 1725. Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Goussen 2052. <https://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/content/titleinfo/109545>

At the same time, it was clear that the inclusion of diacritics would considerably increase the cost of printing.¹²⁸ The SPCK's letters and minutes reveal that the participants in this discussion were Sherman at Aleppo, the Syrian Christians Negri and Dadichi, and the clergyman Arthur Bedford (1668–1745), a member of the SPCK who knew Arabic and was deeply involved in the publication project.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ See e.g. CUL, SPCK MS A32, 11 Mar. 1725, min. 2 and 16 Mar. 1725, min. 1, pp. 23–24.

¹²⁹ On Dadichi's involvement in the project, see e.g. CUL, SPCK MS A32 and Mills (2020), p. 233–234.

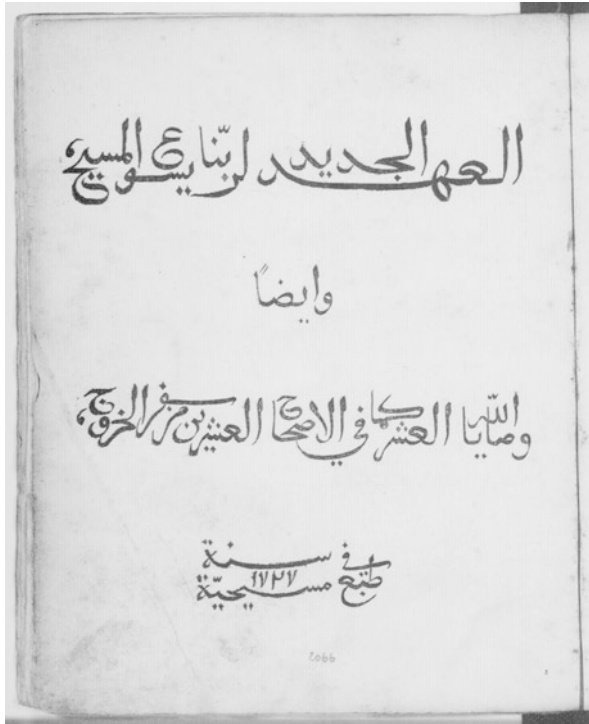


Fig. 13.2 Title page of the SPCK's Arabic New Testament: "The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the Ten Commandments of God as they are found in the twentieth chapter of the Book of Exodus. Printed in the year 1727 of the Christian era." *Al-'Ahd al-jadīd li-rabbīnā Yasū' al-Masīh*. London: SPCK 1727. Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Goussen 2066. <https://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/content/titleinfo/110507>

Further opinions on the subject were solicited from numerous other individuals, including the Orientalist George Sale (1697–1736), who was acting as one of the proof correctors, a professor in Utrecht, the patriarch of Antioch, and local informants in Aleppo.¹³⁰ Both Negri and Dadichi suggested a pragmatic approach, declaring that the diacritics "were not absolutely necessary to be us'd, [...] and that the Smallness of ye Letter made it Impracticable to use them".¹³¹

The strongest proponent for including the diacritics was Bedford. In a long letter to Sherman, he rightly pointed out that manuscripts of the Quran used diacritical marks on all letters, as was also the case in the London Polyglot. He saw the advantage of this practice in the fact that it left no room for ambiguities. Bedford went on to explain in detail his theory that learning among the Muslims

¹³⁰CUL, SPCK MS A32, 30 July 1723–16 Mar. 1725.

¹³¹CUL, SPCK MS A32, 6 Aug. 1723, min. 7, p. 5.

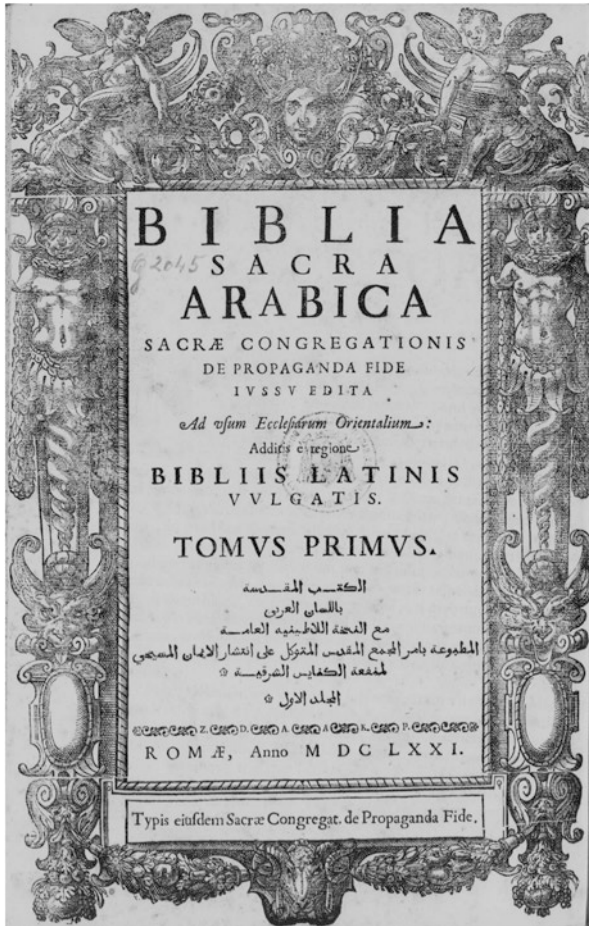


Fig. 13.3 Title page of the first volume of the Arabic-Latin Bible printed by the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. *Biblia Sacra Arabica Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*. Rome: Typographia Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide 1671. Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Goussen 4' 2045 (1). <https://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/content/title-info/211719>

had declined as a direct result of the diacritics having fallen into disuse. Arabic translations without diacritical marks, he wrote, had been ineffective in converting Muslims to Christianity.¹³² For Bedford, the comparison to the aesthetics of Quranic manuscripts was particularly important. In 1726, he even suggested to the Bible committee that the SPCK refrain from printing the New Testament with the

¹³²A. Bedford to R. Sherman, London, 5 Jan. 1725. CUL, SPCK MS D5/4 (letters sent), pp. 7–11.

types used for the Psalter. In his view, they were too small and would risk making “the Edition contemptible to Turks and Papists in those Countries, where Books of Value, and especially the Alcoran, are always written in a larger Character”. He also voiced concerns that the edition could reflect negatively on King George I: “That his Majesty being a Benefactor, he [Bedford] fears it may occasion Reflections upon him, which may prove to his Disservice in those Parts, where the Books are to be sent.” However, the committee decided against his motion.¹³³ As for the question of the diacritics, it adopted the pragmatic but somewhat haphazard approach of printing some diacritical marks in the New Testament, while the Psalter had already been published without them (see Figs. 13.4 and 13.5).

Overall, the involvement of numerous actors in the project allowed for a pooling of expertise and resources but also created considerable discussion and disagreement. Negotiating editorial decisions between Aleppo and London proved difficult, and both Negri and Sherman were somewhat disappointed with the outcome.¹³⁴

The printed copies of the New Testament, Psalter, and other Arabic texts were sent to Sherman in Aleppo (on Levant Company ships), but their reception by the Eastern Christians was relatively limited. The books met with resistance from Roman Catholic missionaries and from within the Eastern Christian communities; in fact, many copies of the New Testament were reportedly burned.¹³⁵ The SPCK also sent copies to the missionaries in India as well as to Narva in Russia, where Kaspar Matthias Rodde (1689–1743), a Lutheran pastor who had studied under Negri in Halle and was a corresponding member of the SPCK, distributed them to Persian prisoners in Russian garrisons.¹³⁶

In its correspondence with benefactors and potential donors, the SPCK had always framed its Arabic Bible project as a “work of charity”. At the same time, however, the endeavour was clearly conceived in a missionary context, as the society attempted to gain a foothold among the Christians of the Middle East, where Roman Catholic missionaries had become ever more firmly established since the sixteenth century. Printing thousands of copies of the New Testament and Psalter in Arabic provided an opportunity to disseminate an alternative translation to the one published by the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. Back in England, the project was also a “performative act” of sorts, or, as Mills puts it, one of “self-affirmation of a religious identity”. The Arabic manuscripts had been shown to King George I, and presentation copies were sent to English college libraries and scholars.¹³⁷ At the outset of the project, Halifax had declared that the undertaking was likely to “prove so much to the Honour of the English Reformation”.¹³⁸

¹³³ CUL, SPCK MS A32, 26 Apr. 1726, min. 10–11, p. 37.

¹³⁴ Mills (2020), p. 235.

¹³⁵ On Sherman’s distribution efforts, successes, and difficulties, see Mills (2020), pp. 238–247.

¹³⁶ Brunner (1993), pp. 160–161.

¹³⁷ Mills (2020), p. 237.

¹³⁸ W. Halifax to H. Newman, Old Swinford, 1 Oct. 1720. CUL, SPCK MS D5/4 (letters received), p. 31.

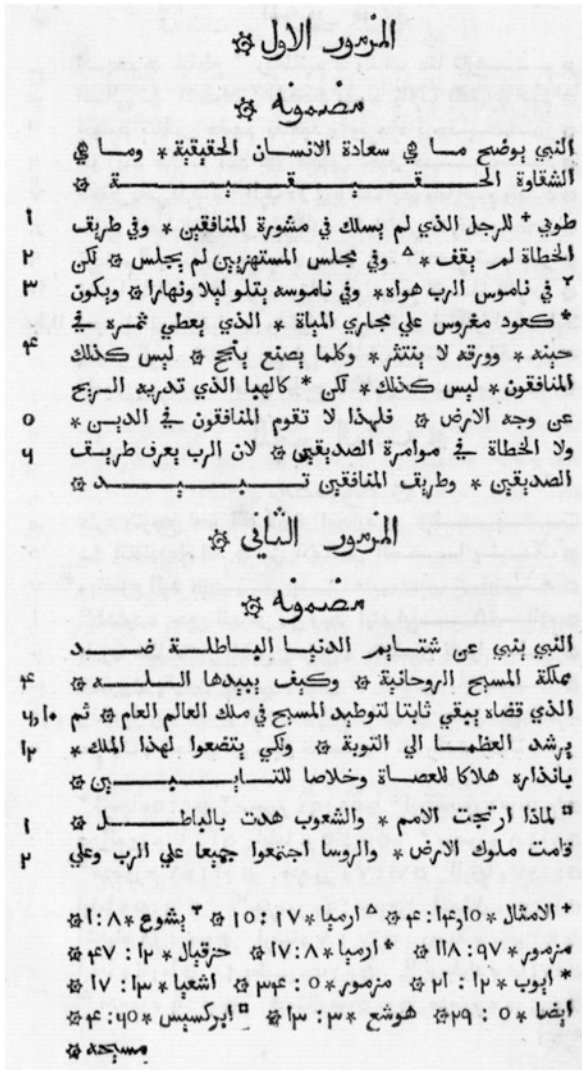


Fig. 13.4 First psalm and the beginning of the second psalm in the SPCK's Arabic Psalter. *Kitāb zabūr Dāwūd al-malik wa-l-nabī*. London: SPCK 1725. Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Goussen 2052. <https://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/content/titleinfo/109545>

In 1727, Sherman described it as a “good Work [...] charitably begun for the Benefit of our poor Brethren in these Parts, and the Honour of our Country and Church”.¹³⁹

¹³⁹R. Sherman to H. Newman, Aleppo, 10 Apr. 1727. CUL, SPCK MS D5/4 (letters received), p. 104. See also Mills (2020), p. 237.



Fig. 13.5 Beginning of the Gospel according to Luke in the SPCK's Arabic New Testament. *Al-'Ahd al-jadid li-rabbina Yasu' al-Masih*. London: SPCK 1727. Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Goussen 2066. <https://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/content/titleinfo/110507>

13.6 Conclusions

The Halle Pietists and the SPCK undoubtedly infused a new dynamism into Protestant missionary efforts by raising funds, creating networks, and cooperating across national and confessional boundaries. As a result, numerous translation projects were launched and promoted. Most translation projects discussed in this contribution were the brainchildren of individuals in pursuit of specific goals and visions. Neither Halle nor London had a preconceived programme for which works should be translated into which languages. Both often lacked the linguistic expertise to ensure that all translations satisfied a high standard. Although efforts were made to gather information on the prospects of distributing these translations, some met with only modest success, especially in terms of actual conversions to Protestantism. Still, we can observe the emergence of a common set of texts chosen for translation: the projects focused on biblical and liturgical texts, catechisms, and popular devotional works. In the last category, Arndt's *Of True Christianity* was one of the books most frequently translated in Halle. Given its importance for Halle Pietists—Francke used it for his weekly sermons and it was a key text in the publishing programme of the printing press at Glaucha¹⁴⁰—its translation for fellow Protestants and missionary purposes would have seemed only logical. Likewise, Luther's *Small Catechism* was translated on a regular basis, though apparently not with the specific aim of spreading Lutheranism, but rather because it explained foundational Christian teachings in an easily comprehensible way.¹⁴¹

In many cases, the Halle Pietists and the SPCK tried to adapt their translations and editions specifically to their respective audiences. In keeping with Francke's aim to spread "true Christianity" in spoken languages, a targeted effort was made to translate religious texts into vernacular languages.¹⁴² In many cases, "native informants" were involved in the translation projects, and several of the translators were not themselves Protestants but "in-betweens" like Negri and Todorskij.

Further studies of the specific linguistic features of the translations undertaken in Halle and London remain a desideratum. Such investigations might provide valuable insights into the balance the translators struck between accommodating Protestant concerns on the one hand and catering to the tastes of non-Protestant audiences on the other (such as the "orthodoxization" that Reichelt has detected in the Russian Arndt translation). Finally, decisions regarding the layout of texts as well as the omission of the publisher and place of printing suggest that the Halle Pietists and the SPCK adopted a policy of obscuring the Protestant origins of their translations to the extent possible when printing texts for non-Protestant

¹⁴⁰Brecht (1993), pp. 440, 460, 485, 524, 526.

¹⁴¹Bochinger (1995), p. 32.

¹⁴²Mengel (2017), p. 157.

audiences.¹⁴³ This was done to ensure that the translations would be more easily accepted by their intended readership as well as to avoid the suspicions and censorship of Roman Catholic missionaries or local religious authorities.

Overall, the multiple translation projects realized in Halle and by the SPCK seem to have served both outward and inward ends. Above all, they had the practical goal of spreading Protestantism through the dissemination of texts (and thus building a missionary bulwark against the Catholic rivals). As Bochinger has argued in the context of Halle's translational activities, the idea was to give people—be they Eastern Christians, Jews, or Muslims—access to the Bible and other texts in their own languages so that, through regular reading practices, they would experience an “awakening” and embrace “true Christianity” of their own accord.¹⁴⁴ At the same time, the translation projects also served as a kind of religious self-affirmation: the Halle Pietists as well as the members of the SPCK were convinced that, through them, they were contributing to building God's kingdom on earth by spreading the Christian message.

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¹⁴³Of the numerous texts in foreign languages printed in Halle, few were in fact labelled officially as editions originating from the printing press of the orphanage. Klosterberg (2017), p. 64.

¹⁴⁴Bochinger (1995), pp. 31–32; see also Tröger (2019), p. 58.

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Kapitel 14

Londoner Reaktionen auf die *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*. John Evelyns Übersetzung von Fréart de Chambrays *Parallèle*, Christopher Wren, Antonio Verrio und das Royal Hospital in Chelsea (1682–1689)



Christina Strunck

Ende 1681 erwarb König Karl II. von England das etwas außerhalb von London gelegene „Chelsey College“ und ließ auf dessen Terrain ab 1682 ein Heim für Kriegsveteranen errichten.¹ Als Vorbild für die neue Institution, die fortan als Royal Hospital bezeichnet wurde, diente das 1671 von Ludwig XIV. gegründete Hôtel des Invalides in Paris.² Etwa 1687 oder 1688 konzipierte Antonio Verrio für den großen Speise- und Versammlungssaal des Hospitals in Chelsea ein programmatisches Wandbild (Abb. 14.1), das – so die hier vertretene These – nicht nur den Stifter würdigen sollte, sondern auch die politische und kulturelle Konkurrenz zwischen England und Frankreich in der Spätphase der Stuart-Herrschaft veranschaulichte.

Das Wandbild nimmt mit einem imposanten Format von 4,5 × 7,5 Metern die gesamte Breite der westlichen Schmalseite in der Great Hall ein. Der aus Süditalien stammende Maler Antonio Verrio hatte sich durch Studienaufenthalte in Neapel, Rom, Florenz und Paris mit den aktuellsten Tendenzen der Gegenwartskunst vertraut gemacht und war in jener Zeit der wichtigste Hofkünstler Englands.³ Die repräsentativen

¹Zur Gründungsgeschichte des Royal Hospital vgl. Hutt (1872), S. 13–16, 90–94, 98, 128–129 (doc. 6); Willes (2017), S. 53–54.

²Stevenson (2000), S. 56; Brett (2009), S. 9; Sharpe (2013), S. 122.

³Johns (2013); Johns (2016); Strunck (2021), Kap. 3, 4, 6.

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Abb. 14.1 Antonio Verrio und Gehilfen (vollendet von Henry Cooke), Wandbild in der Great Hall des Royal Hospital in Chelsea, ca. 1687–1692. (Aus Worsley (2007), S. 57)

tative Ausgestaltung des Royal Hospital besaß ein entsprechend hohes Prestige, ist erstaunlicherweise aber bis heute von der Forschung quasi unbeachtet geblieben.⁴

Die in diesem Beitrag vorgestellte neue Interpretation des Gemäldes basiert auf der Analyse von drei verschiedenen Arten von Übersetzungsprozessen. Zunächst wird die interlinguale Übersetzung von Roland Fréart de Chambrays *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne* besprochen und deren politische Funktion thematisiert. Danach rücken bildkünstlerische Übersetzungsleistungen in den Blick. Dabei wird unterschieden zwischen intramedialen Übersetzungen (innerhalb desselben künstlerischen Mediums) und intermedialen Übersetzungen (von einem Medium in ein anderes, z. B. von Graphik in Architektur sowie von Skulptur in Malerei).

Die Verwendung des Begriffs ‚Übersetzung‘ in einem kunsthistorischen Kontext mag zunächst ungewohnt erscheinen. Etablierter ist es, von Rezeption oder Transfer zu sprechen. Beide Begriffe werden der Thematik des vorliegenden Texts jedoch weniger gut gerecht. Während ‚Rezeption‘ etymologisch eine passive Aufnahme fremder Vorbilder impliziert, besitzt der Begriff ‚Übersetzung‘ einen deutlich aktiveren Charakter und ist daher besser geeignet, die kreative, modifizierende Übertragungsleistung des Künstlers zu fassen. Und wengleich die im Folgenden besprochenen Phänomene durchaus auch als ‚Transfer von Ideen‘ klassifiziert

⁴Das Gemälde wurde nur sehr knapp in folgenden Publikationen erwähnt: Croft-Murray (1962), S. 66, 246; Gibson (1997), S. 346, Kat. Nr. 796; Worsley (2005), S. 81; Worsley (2007), S. 57–58; Brett (2009), S. 9–10; De Giorgi (2009), S. 113; Brett (2010), S. 91. Einzig ein Aufsatz von Babington und Pelter (2007) beschäftigt sich etwas ausführlicher mit dem Gemälde, stellt aber konservatorische Aspekte in den Vordergrund. Der vorliegende Text wurde für die SPP-Jahrestagung 2020 geschrieben. Zwischenzeitlich habe ich eine detaillierte englischsprachige Analyse von Verrios Wandbild veröffentlicht: Strunck (2021), 167–180. Durch die Konzentration auf John Evelyns Übersetzung von Fréarts *Parallèle* setzt der vorliegende Aufsatz jedoch einen anderen Akzent.

werden könnten, erlaubt es die oben eingeführte terminologische Differenzierung, genauer zwischen verschiedenen Arten von Übertragungsprozessen zu unterscheiden. Indem von interlingualen, inter- und intramedialen Übersetzungen die Rede ist, wird der generelle Begriff des ‚Ideentransfers‘ präzisiert durch eine Fokussierung auf die unterschiedlichen Medien, in denen dieser Transfer stattfindet.⁵

Ausgehend von einer genauen Betrachtung des Wandbilds im Royal Hospital von Chelsea, möchte ich drei Thesen zur Diskussion stellen, die ‚Übersetzungspolitiken‘ und somit das Leitthema des vorliegenden Bandes betreffen:

1. John Evelyns englische Übersetzung von Roland Fréart de Chambrays *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne* bildet einen Referenzrahmen, der einen neuen Zugang zum Verständnis bestimmter künstlerischer Gestaltungsmerkmale des Royal Hospital eröffnet.
2. Antonio Verrios Wandbild ‚übersetzt‘ die *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* in eine bildliche Form.
3. Im Kontext der urbanistischen Neukonzeption von ‚Restoration London‘ akzentuieren die von Verrio vollzogenen intra- und intermedialen Übersetzungsprozesse die politische und kulturelle Konkurrenz zwischen England und Frankreich in der Spätphase der Stuart-Herrschaft.⁶

Wegen des unzureichenden Forschungsstands ist es zunächst erforderlich, die Ikonographie des Gemäldes zu erörtern. Es sei vorausgeschickt, dass das Werk zwei Signaturen trägt, und zwar von Verrios Werkstattmitarbeiter Gerard Lanscroon und von seinem Konkurrenten Henry Cooke.⁷ Dies erklärt sich daraus, dass Antonio Verrio nach der sogenannten ‚Glorious Revolution‘ als Katholik und früherer Hofkünstler in Ungnade fiel. Daher erhielt 1689 Henry Cooke den Auftrag, das Wandbild fertigzustellen. Spätestens 1692 dürften die Arbeiten abgeschlossen gewesen sein.⁸ Zahlungsdokumente belegen jedoch, dass Verrio zuvor bereits einen beträchtlichen Teil des Gemäldes ausgeführt hatte und dass somit auch die Konzeption des Werks von ihm stammt.⁹ Insofern werde ich das Bild im Folgenden als

⁵Streng genommen ist auch die interlinguale Übersetzung eine intramediale Übersetzung (innerhalb desselben Mediums). Im vorliegenden Text wird der Begriff der intramedialen Übersetzung jedoch nur mit Bezug auf bildende Kunst und Architektur gebraucht. In Analogie zur ‚Intertextualität‘ verwenden einige Wissenschaftler*innen auch den Begriff der Interpikturalität, z. B. von Rosen et al. (2003), der sich jedoch nur auf einen Teilaspekt intramedialer Übersetzungsprozesse bezieht, da er Skulptur und Architektur ausblendet. Ebenso wie Bilder andere Bilder zitieren, können jedoch auch Skulpturen und Bauwerke jeweils ältere Skulpturen und Bauwerke referenzieren.

⁶Der Ausdruck ‚Restoration London‘ bezieht sich auf Stevenson (2013).

⁷Babington und Pelter (2007), S. 135.

⁸Brett (2009), S. 10. Die Zahlungen sind in einem Rechnungsbuch registriert, das den Zeitraum 1.1.1688–30.3.1692 abdeckt: Hutt (1872), S. 193–205, doc. 40.

⁹Zu den Zahlungsdokumenten siehe Hutt (1872), S. 193–205, doc. 40; Bolton und Hendry (1942), S. 75; Croft-Murray (1962), S. 246. Wie die jüngste Restaurierung gezeigt hat, ist es im Gestaltungsprozess nicht zu einschneidenden Änderungen gekommen: vgl. Babington und Pelter (2007).

ein Werk Verrios besprechen, auch wenn es dabei zu bedenken gilt, dass mehrere Künstler an der Ausführung beteiligt waren.

14.1 Zur Ikonographie von Verrios Wandbild

Die einzige Künstlermonographie, die einen Überblick über das Œuvre Antonio Verrios gibt, behandelt sein Wandbild im Royal Hospital von Chelsea nur knapp und behauptet, der Monarch im Zentrum des Gemäldes sei Jakob II.¹⁰ Dies liegt insofern nahe, als Verrio seine Arbeit an dem Wandbild während der Regierungszeit Jakobs II. aufnahm.¹¹ Dennoch kann es nicht stimmen, denn über dem Kopf des Königs befindet sich ein Monogramm aus zwei ineinander verschlungenen Buchstaben C (s. Abb. 14.1) – ein klarer Verweis auf Charles II. bzw. Karl II. Da Karls Rolle als Gründer der Institution auch in der Inschriftkartusche zu Füßen des Monarchen gewürdigt wird, handelt es sich um eine posthume Ehrung des 1685 verstorbenen Königs.¹²

Vor dem Hintergrund des Royal Hospital kommt uns Karl II. in Rüstung und hoch zu Ross entgegen. Scheinbar mühelos triumphiert er über ein vielköpfiges Fabelwesen – die Lernäische Hydra, die Herkules im Lauf seiner zwölf Arbeiten überwinden musste. Die Hydra kann in der barocken Kunst sowohl für innen- als auch für außenpolitische Gegner stehen.¹³ In Anspielung auf den englischen Nationalheiligen Georg, den Drachentöter, präsentiert Verrio Karl II. hier als einen Monarchen, der alle Widersacher ohne Probleme im Griff hat.

Zu beiden Seiten des Königs lagern zwei Gruppen allegorischer Personen. Sie werden optisch durch die in der Luft schwebenden Figuren miteinander verbunden, so dass der König von einer dreiecksförmigen Komposition umschlossen ist. Im Zentrum der linken Gruppe befindet sich die Themse, personifiziert als antiker

¹⁰De Giorgi (2009), S. 113.

¹¹Die Zahlungen an Verrio begegnen in einem Rechnungsbuch, das ab dem 1.1.1687 (nach heutigem Datierungsstil: 1.1.1688) geführt wurde. Der Auftrag wurde durch den Earl of Ranelagh vergeben, der seit Anfang 1686 Schatzmeister des Royal Hospital war. Es ist also möglich, dass Verrios erste Projekte für das Wandbild bereits von 1686 oder 1687 datieren. Vgl. Hutt (1872), S. 41, 193–205; McGrath (2004), S. 616–618.

¹²Die Inschrift lautet: „Carolo Secundo / Regi optimo Huius Hospitii / Fundatori / Dominoque suo Clementissimo / Ricardus Iones Comes de Ranelagh / Hanc Tabulam Posuit.“ Inkorrekte Transkription bei Babington und Pelter (2007), S. 133. Übers. der Autorin: „Richard Jones, Earl of Ranelagh, stiftete dieses Gemälde zu Ehren seines gütigen Herrn Karl II., des unübertrefflichen Königs und Gründers dieses königlichen Hospitals“. Die Wendung „Hanc Tabulam Posuit“ (wörtlich ‚er ließ dieses Bild anbringen‘) impliziert, dass Jones der Stifter war, wenngleich die Zahlungen letztlich aus Mitteln des Hospitals erfolgten: Hutt (1872), S. 100.

¹³Beispielsweise ließ Karl II. nach der Aufdeckung einer gegen ihn gerichteten Verschwörung eine Medaille prägen, die ihn als Sieger über die Hydra darstellte: Sharpe (2013), S. 132–133. Generell zum Bedeutungsspektrum der Hydra vgl. Gibson (1997), S. 175; Sauerländer (2006), vor allem S. 45–55.

Flussgott. Das Füllhorn und die große Muschel verweisen auf den Reichtum, den London aus dem Fernhandel bezieht.¹⁴

Die Figurengruppe, die in der linken Bildhälfte zum Himmel emporsteigt, veranschaulicht die Tugenden des Königs. Die vier Kardinaltugenden sind durch ihre Attribute leicht zu erkennen.¹⁵ Die Frau mit dem gelben Gewand ist Temperantia (Mäßigung), die Wasser in den Wein gießt. Darüber schwebt Prudentia (Klugheit) mit ihrem Standard-Attribut, der Schlange. Justitia (die weiß gewandete Frau mit Richtschwert und Waage) wendet sich dem Hospital zu, während Fortitudo (Stärke) nicht wie üblich von einer Frau verkörpert wird, sondern uns hier in der Gestalt des Herkules entgegentritt.

Herkules und die geflügelte Siegesgöttin Victoria bekronen Karl II. mit einem Lorbeerkranz. Dieser umschließt optisch den Globus, der auf der gebauten Laterne über dem Vestibül des Hospitals angebracht wurde.¹⁶ Die bildliche Verzahnung verbindet den König mit der von ihm gegründeten Institution und impliziert, dass auch die Bewohner des Hospitals einen entscheidenden Anteil an den Siegen des Königs hatten. Für die Veteranen, die sich vor diesem Bild zu ihren Mahlzeiten versammelten, war das Gemälde ein sinnstiftendes Angebot: Es veranschaulichte die Bedeutung des Monarchen, in dessen Dienst sie ihr Leben und ihre Gesundheit aufs Spiel gesetzt hatten.

In den beiden oberen Ecken des Gemäldes schweben allerhand Putten und zwei geflügelte Personifikationen der Fama, die mit ihren Posaunen den Ruhm Karls II. verkünden. Gleichzeitig schlagen sie einen gemalten roten Vorhang zurück und verleihen dem Bild damit den Charakter einer theatralischen *revelatio*: Den Veteranen und den Besuchern des Royal Hospital wird eine allegorische Wahrheit enthüllt, die den Augen normalerweise verborgen bleibt.¹⁷ Diese Wahrheit betrifft nicht nur die Tugenden des Königs, die hier ein anschauliches Gesicht bekommen, sondern auch die Macht über seine Feinde (die Hydra) und die Ausdehnung seines Herrschaftsbereichs. Der von Lorbeer umkränzte Globus impliziert den Anspruch auf Weltherrschaft – ein Thema, das durch die Gruppe in der rechten Bildhälfte noch deutlicher ausgeführt wird.

Personifikationen der damals bekannten vier Kontinente haben sich um einen Globus versammelt, den sie Karl II. mit bewundernden Blicken darzubringen

¹⁴Babington und Pelter (2007), S. 133, identifizieren den Flussgott korrekt, deuten die Muschel jedoch als „symbol of St James“ und damit als möglichen Verweis auf „Charles' son, the future James II“. Sie übersehen dabei, dass Jakob (James) II. Karls Bruder war und bereits regierte, als das Bild gemalt wurde.

¹⁵Kirschbaum (2015), Bd. 4, Sp. 364–380 (s. v. Tugenden), speziell Sp. 377–378.

¹⁶Da dieser Text in einer literaturwissenschaftlich orientierten Publikationsreihe erscheint, sei angemerkt, dass eine ‚Laterne‘ in kunsthistorischer Terminologie definiert ist als ein „runder oder polygonaler, durchfensterter Aufbau über einer Decken- bzw. Gewölbeöffnung, meist über dem Auge einer Kuppel oder eines Klostergewölbes, auch auf einem kuppelförmigen Dach“, Binding (1998), S. 181.

¹⁷Zur Bedeutung des Vorhangmotivs vgl. Eberlein (1982); Rohlmann (1995), S. 224, 234–241.

scheinen. Drei der vier Erdteile sind durch ihre Standard-Attribute leicht zu identifizieren.¹⁸ Im Vordergrund sitzt Europa, besonders hervorgehoben durch ihr Füllhorn und das rote Gewand. Ganz rechts kniet Amerika mit Feder-Kopfschmuck, und hinter ihr steht Afrika, die an einem Elefantenrüssel auf dem Kopf zu erkennen ist. Die inmitten dieser Gruppe knieende Frau mit ockerfarbenem Gewand dürfte folglich Asien sein.¹⁹

Noch ungedeutet ist bisher die Frau, die links neben dem Globus steht. Sie hat eine wichtige Rolle inne, da sie durch ihre Gesten und Blicke zwischen dem Monarchen und der Welt vermittelt. Wer ist sie?

Die Frau trägt eine Mauerkrone, was sie als Personifikation einer Stadt ausweist. Diese Darstellungskonvention war in England geläufig, denn nach dem verheerenden Stadtbrand von 1666 wurde London wiederholt als eine bekümmert am Boden sitzende Frau mit Mauerkrone dargestellt. Diese Ikonographie findet sich sowohl in der Druckgraphik als auch an dem Monument, das in den 1670er Jahren zur Erinnerung an den Brand errichtet wurde.²⁰ Es ist daher naheliegend, dass die grau gekleidete Frau in Verrios Gemälde die stark zerstörte, fast eingeäscherte Stadt London versinnbildlichen soll.

London schaut appellierend in Richtung des Königs. Mit ihrer linken Hand hält sie ein Winkelmaß, das sich wirkungsvoll vor dem hellen Hintergrund abhebt. Dieses Winkelmaß, ein geläufiges Attribut von Personifikationen der Architektur, ist so platziert, dass es die Aufmerksamkeit auf das im Hintergrund dargestellte Gebäude lenkt. Die Betrachter sollen dadurch verstehen, dass das Hospital, in dem sie sich befinden, ein entscheidender Beitrag des Königs zur Erneuerung Londons nach dem Brand ist.

14.2 John Evelyn, *Fréart de Chambrays Parallèle* und die Erneuerung Londons

Der verheerende Stadtbrand war am 2. September 1666 ausgebrochen und hatte mehrere Tage lang unaufhaltsam gewütet.²¹ Am 13. September 1666 veröffentlichte Karl II. eine Erklärung, in der er den Betroffenen Mut zusprach, zugleich aber einen ungeordneten Wiederaufbau zu verhindern suchte. Er kündigte an, dass schon bald ein „whole design“ für die Stadtplanung vorliegen werde, und versicherte den Londonern, die Stadt sei von dem Feuer nicht zerstört, sondern

¹⁸ Ripa (1992), S. 295–302.

¹⁹ Babington und Pelter (2007), S. 134, bezeichnen hingegen die Frau als Asien, die links neben dem Globus steht. Wie im Folgenden dargelegt wird, weisen ihre Attribute sie jedoch als Personifikation Londons aus.

²⁰ Stevenson (2005), S. 50, 53, 56–58; Stevenson (2013), S. 152–153.

²¹ Stevenson (2013), S. 224.

vielmehr „gereinigt“ worden, so dass sie anschließend in größerer Schönheit neu errichtet werden könne.²²

Wenig später wurden erste Projekte für den Wiederaufbau vorgelegt.²³ An den Planungen beteiligte sich auch der vielseitig interessierte Gelehrte John Evelyn, der sich bereits vor dem Brand mit Fragen des Städtebaus auseinandergesetzt hatte.²⁴ Beispielsweise argumentierte er 1659 in seinem *Character of England*, dass die schlechte Luft, die engen Straßen und beengten Wohnverhältnisse ein Grund für die soziale und politische Unruhe in London seien, und kritisierte 1661 in der Publikation *Fumifugium* erneut die starke Luftverschmutzung in der Metropole.²⁵

Durch seine 1664 veröffentlichte Übersetzung von Roland Fréart de Chambrays *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne* machte Evelyn den englischen Bauherren und Architekten einen Text zugänglich, der seiner Ansicht nach geeignet war, einer künftigen Neugestaltung Londons wichtige Impulse zu geben.²⁶ Es lohnt sich, diesen Traktat im Kontext des vorliegenden Beitrags genauer zu betrachten, denn Evelyn war von Anfang an in die Planungen für das Royal Hospital in Chelsea involviert.²⁷ Zudem hatte er gerade 1680, kurz vor Baubeginn, eine Neuauflage seiner Übersetzung der *Parallèle* herausgebracht.²⁸ Daher ist zu überlegen, inwiefern die darin formulierten Ideen für das Verständnis des Baus und seiner Ausstattung relevant sind.

Gideon Toury hat darauf hingewiesen, dass Übersetzungen von einer Zielkultur oft dann initiiert werden, wenn etwas in dieser Kultur zu fehlen scheint: „there is something ‘missing’ [...] which should rather be there and which, luckily, already exists elsewhere, preferably in a prestigious culture, and can be taken advantage of.“²⁹ Daher können Übersetzungen die Zielkultur deutlich verändern: „translation activities and their products not only can, but very often do cause changes in the target culture. Indeed, it is in their very nature. After all, cultures resort to translating precisely as a way of filling in gaps, whenever and wherever such gaps may manifest themselves.“³⁰ Worin bestand also die Lücke, die John Evelyn durch

²² Stevenson (2013), S. 138–139, 141. Charles' Aussage, „[that London] had not been ‚consumed‘ but rather ‚purged‘ by the Fire“ (S. 139), besaß interessanterweise religiöse Konnotationen, indem sie auf das Fegefeuer anspielte.

²³ Myers (2013), S. 160; Willes (2017), S. 37–41.

²⁴ Evelyns Entwurf für die Neuordnung Londons ist durch einen Stich des 18. Jahrhunderts überliefert: Stevenson (2013), S. 138 (mit Abbildung). Generell zu John Evelyns Biographie und Werken: Darley (2006); Willes (2017).

²⁵ Stevenson (2013), S. 123.

²⁶ Fréart (1664).

²⁷ Siehe unten Anm. 47 und 48.

²⁸ Evelyn (1680).

²⁹ Toury (2012), S. 22.

³⁰ Toury (2012), S. 21.

seine Übersetzung zu schließen suchte? Was wollte er seinen englischen Zeitgenossen dadurch vermitteln?

Die französische Erstausgabe der *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne* erschien 1650 in Paris und ist, wie der Untertitel verrät, ein Traktat über die antiken Säulenordnungen.³¹ Die Aussagen italienischer und französischer Architekturtheoretiker, die im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert über Säulenordnungen geschrieben haben, werden kritisch miteinander verglichen und durch Illustrationen veranschaulicht. Obwohl der Titel einen Vergleich von antiker und moderner Architektur erwarten lässt, kommt die Baukunst der Renaissance und des Barock im Hauptteil des Traktats nur indirekt vor, nämlich durch die von Fréart de Chambray zitierten Theoretiker, die gleichzeitig auch als Architekten aktiv waren: Leon Battista Alberti, Andrea Palladio und Vincenzo Scamozzi, Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola und Sebastiano Serlio, Jean Bullant und Philibert de l'Orme. Ihre eigenen Bauwerke werden zwar nicht besprochen, doch beurteilt Fréart, was sie als Theoretiker zum Verständnis der Antike beigetragen haben.³² Zwischen den Zeilen geht es dabei auch um die Frage, wie exakt oder frei sie in ihren eigenen Werken mit antiken Vorbildern umgingen.³³

Den im Titel angesprochenen Vergleich von antiker und moderner Architektur behandelt Fréart nur in einem kurzen Vorwort. Die Vorstellung, dass jede Zeit und Nation eine Architektur nach eigenem Geschmack erfinden könne, bezeichnet der Autor als „raisonnemens vagues & frivoles“.³⁴ Für ihn besitzt die Antike höchste Autorität. Fréart empfiehlt den Architekten seiner Gegenwart, sich an der griechischen Antike zu orientieren, und zwar möglichst getreu. Phantasievolle Neuschöpfungen verurteilt er streng.³⁵

Dem Vorwort vorangestellt ist ein Widmungsbrief an die beiden Brüder des Autors, die hohe Ämter am französischen Königshof bekleideten. Roland Fréart de Chambray erklärt darin, dass der eigentliche Autor des Traktats der verstorbene François Sublet de Noyers sei, in dessen Auftrag er das Werk verfasst habe. Dieser habe als Surintendant des Bâtimens die Künste in Frankreich zu einer bisher ungekannten Blüte gebracht, vor allem durch Orientierung an der Antike.³⁶

John Evelyn bewunderte die französische Kultur, da er sich während seiner ‚grand tour‘ und auch später wiederholt in Paris aufgehalten hatte.³⁷ Seine 1664 in London veröffentlichte Übersetzung von Fréarts Traktat umfasst alle genannten

³¹ Fréart (1650).

³² Siehe z. B. Fréart (1650), Chapitre 6, S. 20–21.

³³ Kritik an den modernen Architekten bei Fréart (1650), S. 4–5.

³⁴ Fréart (1650), S. 1.

³⁵ Fréart (1650), S. 2. Siehe dazu auch Levine (1999), S. 15–16; Connors (2019), S. 139–140.

³⁶ Fréart (1650), S. 2 und S. 4 der unpaginierten *Epistre*. Vgl. Connors (2019), S. 139.

³⁷ Levine (1999), S. 6; Darley (2006), S. 214–232; Willes (2017), S. 13–19, 166, 170.

Textteile, fügt aber noch einige weitere Texte hinzu.³⁸ Im Zusammenhang des vorliegenden Beitrags sind die beiden neuen Widmungsbriefe besonders interessant, da Evelyn darin Auskunft über die Absichten seiner Übersetzung gibt. Der erste Widmungsbrief richtet sich an König Karl II., der zweite an John Denham, der als ‚Superintendent and Surveyor‘ damals die Oberaufsicht über das königliche Bauwesen besaß und somit dasselbe Amt bekleidete wie Fréarts Patron Sublet de Noyers.

John Denham war primär Dichter, so dass er selbst nicht als Architekt tätig wurde.³⁹ Evelyn nutzte daher den Widmungsbrief, ihm den Architekten Hugh May zu empfehlen, der später tatsächlich wichtige königliche Bauaufträge erhielt.⁴⁰ Vor allem aber bringt der Brief Evelyns Hoffnung zum Ausdruck, Denham möge dafür sorgen, dass die englischen „workmen“ durch den übersetzten Traktat eine bessere Ausbildung erhielten, denn bislang stünden zu wenige Architekturlehrbücher in englischer Sprache zur Verfügung. Dadurch komme es zu absurden architektonischen Neuschöpfungen, die noch vom gotischen Stil beeinflusst seien. Evelyn empfiehlt Fréarts Werk als ein besonders nützliches Kompendium, weil es die Traktate verschiedener Autoren zusammenfasse und dadurch einen raschen Überblick über das Feld ermögliche. Ziel sei es, die nationale Baukunst von Grund auf zu erneuern: „we might promise our Country, and the Age to come, a miraculous improvement of their Buildings in a short time.“⁴¹

Es ist daher nur folgerichtig, dass Evelyn seiner Übersetzung eine Widmung an König Karl II. höchstpersönlich voranstellt, den er als obersten Bauherrn der Nation adressiert und mit Kaiser Augustus vergleicht. Dadurch impliziert er eine Parallele zwischen Rom und London, die nicht nur das Bauwesen, sondern auch die politische Situation umfasst: Denn so wie unter Augustus nach einer Phase des Bürgerkriegs ein neues, angeblich ‚goldenes‘ Zeitalter begann, so soll auch London nach dem Interregnum wieder aufblühen.⁴²

Schon aus dieser knappen Zusammenfassung geht hervor, dass Evelyns Übersetzungsprojekt eine klar politisch akzentuierte Zielsetzung besaß. Ähnlich wie Fréart, der die Rolle seines Mäzens für die französische Kunstpolitik betont hatte,

³⁸Am Schluss des Buchs bietet Evelyn seinen englischen Lesern ein ausführliches Glossar sowie eine kurze Abhandlung über den Architektenberuf und eine Übersetzung von Leon Battista Albertis *De Statua*. Auch bei Fréart hatte es am Schluss unter dem Titel „Etymologie“ eine Erklärung von Fachbegriffen gegeben, die jedoch nur zwei Seiten umfasste. Wie Evelyn seinen Lesern in dem kurzen Text „The Interpreter to the Reader“ erklärt, konnte dieses Glossar so kurz bleiben, weil die französischen „workmen“ mit der Fachterminologie sehr viel besser vertraut seien als die englischen. Zu Evelyns Fréart-Übersetzung siehe auch Downes (1968), S. 28; Harris (1990), S. 196–200; Kern (2020), S. 66–67.

³⁹Zur Rivalität des Architekten John Webb mit John Denham vgl. Bold (1989), S. xviii, 4–5, 182.

⁴⁰Evelyn betont, May habe die Illustrationen zu Fréarts Traktat besorgt und dadurch erst eine angemessene Veröffentlichung ermöglicht: Fréart (1664), S. 1 des Widmungsbriefs an Denham (unpaginiert). Zu May vgl. Downes (1966), S. 16–22.

⁴¹Fréart (1664), S. 2 des Widmungsbriefs an Denham (unpaginiert).

⁴²Fréart (1664), S. 1–3 des Widmungsbriefs an den König (unpaginiert).

wollte auch Evelyn Leitlinien für das gesamte englische Bauwesen der Restaurationsperiode bereitstellen. Dies ist vor dem Hintergrund zu sehen, dass Karl II. erst 1660 aus dem französischen Exil zurückgekehrt war. Wie das antike Rom hatte auch England ab 1642 eine Phase des Bürgerkriegs durchlebt, die 1649 in der Hinrichtung König Karls I. gipfelte. Während des sogenannten Interregnum kam es in London zu massivem Vandalismus. Daher lobt Evelyn in seinem Widmungsbrief, Karl II. habe in drei oder vier Jahren seiner Herrschaft schon wieder mehr aufgebaut, als seine Widersacher in zwanzig Jahren zerstört hätten.⁴³

Evelyn begreift die Epoche der Restauration quasi im Wortsinne als ein Bauprojekt, als Wiederaufbau einer angegriffenen Ordnung. Wie bereits Anne Myers bemerkt hat, ist seine Übersetzung der *Parallèle* „a piece of Restoration political historiography, reflecting the simultaneous process of building and repairing that underwrote the very notion that a Restoration was possible at all.“⁴⁴

In seiner Widmung an John Denham stellt Evelyn eine deutliche Beziehung zwischen der Städteplanung und dem sozialen bzw. psychischen Wohlbefinden der Einwohner her: „it is from the asymmetrie of our Buildings, want of decorum and proportion of our Houses, that the irregularity of our humours and affections may be shrewdly discern'd: But it is from His Majesties great Genius [...] that we may hope to see it all reform'd.“⁴⁵ Mit anderen Worten: Eine neue, klassische, symmetrische Architektur soll nicht nur London verschönern, sondern auch den Bürgern Bedingungen bieten, die keinen Anlass mehr zu Rebellion und Bürgerkrieg geben.

14.3 Die *Parallèle* als Referenzrahmen für das Royal Hospital in Chelsea

Am 14. September 1681 notierte John Evelyn in seinem Tagebuch, er habe mit Sir Stephen Fox gespeist, der als ‚treasury commissioner‘ für die königlichen Finanzen zuständig war.⁴⁶ Dabei ging es um „the purchasing of Chelsey Coll[ege]; which his Majestie had some time since given to our Society, & would now purchase it of us againe, to build an Hospital for Souldiers there; in which he desired my assistance as one of the Council of the R[oyal] Society.“⁴⁷ Offenbar hat Evelyn den gewünschten tatkräftigen Beitrag geleistet, denn Ende 1681 konnte Karl II. das Terrain erwerben. Anfang 1682 entwickelten Evelyn und Fox den ersten Plan für die Administration der neuen Institution. Dem Tagebuch zufolge bat Fox den Gelehrten „to consider of what Laws & Orders were fit for the Government, which was to be in every respect as strickt as in any religious Convent.“⁴⁸

⁴³Fréart (1664), S. 2–3 des Widmungsbriefs an den König (unpaginiert).

⁴⁴Myers (2013), S. 173.

⁴⁵Fréart (1664), S. 2 des Widmungsbriefs an Denham (unpaginiert).

⁴⁶Zur Biographie von Stephen Fox vgl. Braddick (2004), S. 680–682.

⁴⁷De Beer (1955), Bd. 4, S. 257.

⁴⁸De Beer (1955), Bd. 4, S. 270.

Das bedeutete, dass Evelyn sich auch mit dem Architekten des Neubaus austauschen musste, denn die Sorge um soziale Ordnung hatte direkte Konsequenzen für die architektonische Strukturierung des Gebäudes.⁴⁹

John Evelyn und der Architekt Christopher Wren waren seit rund zwei Jahrzehnten befreundet und gehörten beide seit den frühen 1660er Jahren der Royal Society an.⁵⁰ Als Wren 1665 zu einer Studienreise nach Paris aufbrach, gab Evelyn ihm nicht nur Empfehlungen an seine Pariser Bekannten mit, sondern versorgte ihn auch mit einem Exemplar der *Parallèle*: „There has lain at Dr. Needham’s a copy of the Parallel bound up for you, and long since designed you, which I shall intreat you to accept; not as a recompense of your many favours to me, much less a thing in the least assistant to you (who are yourself a master), but as a token of my respect, as the book itself is of the affection I bear to an art which you so happily cultivate.“⁵¹

Eine spätere Ausgabe von Evelyns Übersetzung der *Parallèle* lässt sich ebenfalls in Wrens Bibliothek nachweisen, was sein anhaltendes Interesse an diesem Text bezeugt.⁵² Da Evelyn gerade 1680 eine neue Auflage des Traktats herausgebracht hatte,⁵³ war die *Parallèle* zweifellos beiden Männern höchst präsent, als sie sich 1681/82 an die Planungen für das Royal Hospital machten. Bislang ist Fréarts Text in der Forschung jedoch noch nicht in Bezug auf Chelsea diskutiert worden.

Das Royal Hospital in Chelsea war der erste Bau in England, der Kriegsveteranen in einer dermaßen großzügigen und würdevollen Unterkunft unterbrachte, und bedeutete somit eine große soziale Verbesserung.⁵⁴ Als Vorbild für eine solche Institution diente das Hôtel des Invalides in Paris, das Ludwig XIV. 1671 gegründet hatte.⁵⁵ Dieser Vergleich wurde London-Besuchern offenbar aktiv nahegebracht, denn 1695 schrieb Antonio Francesco dal Pino, der London im Gefolge eines toskanischen Gesandten besuchte: „Dicono quello di Francia assai più grande, ma questo più vago“ („Sie sagen, dass das französische Hospital deutlich größer, dieses hier jedoch schöner sei“).⁵⁶

⁴⁹Die disziplinierende Innenaufteilung des Hospitals betont Stevenson (2000), S. 53–61.

⁵⁰Levine (1999), S. 174.

⁵¹Bray (1859), Bd. 3, S. 155.

⁵²Watkin (1972), S. 39, Nr. 567.

⁵³Evelyn (1680).

⁵⁴Die Planungsgeschichte des Hospitals kann nicht nachvollzogen werden, denn das Gebäude ist „the only one of Wren’s major buildings for which no drawings have survived“, Whinney (1971), S. 147; siehe auch Geraghty (2007), S. 11. Kurz zuvor war in Kilmmainham bei Dublin ein weiteres Royal Hospital begonnen worden: siehe Mulligan und O’Neill (2022), S. 124–125.

⁵⁵Siehe oben Anm. 2. Zur Baugeschichte vgl. Gady (2015). Das Royal Hospital Kilmmainham folgte ebenfalls dem Vorbild von Les Invalides: Mulligan und O’Neill (2022), S. 125.

⁵⁶Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato 6391, fasc. 10: Memorie delle cose più notate nel Viaggio di Firenze a Londra per propria sodisfazione dal P. Anton Francesco dal Pino, in occorrenza d’aver servito di Cappellano all’Ill.mo Sig.re Commendatore F. Tommaso Del Bene Inviato Straordinario del Ser.mo Gran Duca di Toscana alla Maestà del Re Guglielmo della Gran Brettagna l’anno 1695, fol. 178.

Abb. 14.2 London, Royal Hospital at Chelsea, Hauptfassade im Süden des Gebäudekomplexes. (Foto: Strunck)



Bei Betrachtung der stattlichen Pariser Anlage fällt das völlig unklassische Eingangsportal auf, das von einem gigantischen halbkreisförmigen Tympanon überfangen wird. Es wirkt wie eine überdimensionierte kirchliche Portalarchitektur, quasi als Eingang zum Invalidendom, dessen Kuppel dahinter bereits sichtbar ist.⁵⁷ Im Kontrast dazu zeichnet sich die Hauptfassade des Hospitals in Chelsea durch eine bemerkenswerte Klassizität aus (Abb. 14.2). Es dürfte kein Zufall sein, dass die sehr gestreckten Proportionen der Portikus an die einzige in Fréarts *Parallèle* abgebildete antike Tempelfront erinnern (Abb. 14.3).⁵⁸ Die Illustrationen des Traktats, die in den Ausgaben von 1664 und 1680 exakt die Pariser *editio princeps* von 1650 reproduzierten, waren in England neuartig und nach Ansicht König Karls II. „the best printed and design’d that he had ever seene.“⁵⁹

Da Tempelfronten im 18. Jahrhundert zum Standardrepertoire klassizistischer Architektur gehörten, lässt sich leicht übersehen, wie selten dieses Motiv im England des 17. Jahrhunderts war. Inigo Jones hatte St. Paul’s Cathedral und St. Paul’s in Covent Garden mit neoklassischen Portiken versehen,⁶⁰ aber erst der zwischen 1654 und 1657 von John Webb umgestaltete Landsitz The Vyne in Hampshire besaß „the first projecting temple front to be applied to an English house.“⁶¹ Das Royal Hospital in Chelsea war der zweite britische Profanbau dieser Art,⁶² unterschied sich allerdings deutlich von den genannten Vorläufern. Während Jones und

⁵⁷Vgl. https://images.musement.com/cover/0001/85/thumb_84305_cover_header.jpeg?&q=60&fit=crop, Zugriffen: 2. Mai 2021. Siehe auch den historischen Stich bei Stevenson (2000), S. 47, fig. 12.

⁵⁸Fréart (1650), S. 59. Vgl. Fréart (1664), S. 61; Evelyn (1680), S. 61.

⁵⁹Harris (1990), S. 196–197.

⁶⁰Hart (2011), S. 180–183, 211–225; Riddell (2011), S. 205–206 (figs. 22, 23).

⁶¹Bold (1989), S. 172; Riddell (2011), S. 40, 216 (fig. 33).

⁶²Die Fassaden des King Charles Building in Greenwich sowie von Pembroke und Emmanuel College Chapel in Cambridge sind entfernt vergleichbar, besitzen aber allesamt keine freistehenden Portiken. Vgl. Riddell (2011), S. 219–221, figs. 37, 38, 41.

Abb. 14.3 Charles Errard,
Der Tempel der Fortuna
Virilis in Rom. Stich aus
Fréart (1650), S. 59. (ETH
Library Zurich, Rar 221)



Webb dem Vorbild Vincenzo Scamozzis gefolgt waren, der die mittleren Säulen einer Portikus durch quadratische Pfeiler rahmte,⁶³ stehen die vier gleichartigen Säulen von Wrens Portikus in Chelsea dem Stich aus der *Parallèle* deutlich näher.

Es war besonders passend, diese Graphik (Abb. 14.3) als Inspiration für ein Veteranenheim zu nutzen, stellte sie doch einen antiken Tempel dar, der der „männlichen Tugend“ (Fortuna Virilis) gewidmet war.⁶⁴ Wren verlieh seiner Portikus einen noch männlicheren Charakter, indem er statt der ionischen die maskuline konnotierte dorische Säulenordnung verwendete.⁶⁵ Dies bedeutete allerdings, dass er von den kanonischen, deutlich gedrungeneren Proportionen der Dorica abweichen musste. Die über der Portikus aufragende gebaute Laterne besitzt ebenfalls keine antiken Vorbilder, ebenso wie die Kombination eines unverputzten Baukörpers aus Backstein mit einem Tempel-Frontispiz.

Wrens Backsteinarchitektur ist einerseits vom Material her bescheiden und damit dem Status der Kriegsveteranen angemessen. Andererseits kommt durch die klassische Tempelfront ein Würdemotiv hinzu, das sowohl das Prestige der königlichen Stiftung als auch die Verdienste der Veteranen betont.⁶⁶ Das Hospital wird quasi zu einem nationalen Tempel für die Veteranen. Seine Symmetrie veranschaulicht nicht nur die im Innern herrschende vorbildliche Ordnung, sondern trägt (nach Evelyns Vorstellung) auch dazu bei, bessere Wohnbedingungen zu schaf-

⁶³ Scamozzi (1964), Bd. 2, S. 73, 107; vgl. Riddell (2011), S. 40, 206 (fig. 23), 216 (fig. 33) und Hart (2011), S. 221 (fig. 252).

⁶⁴ Fréart (1650), S. 58; Fréart (1664), S. 60; Evelyn (1680), S. 60.

⁶⁵ Bereits Vitruv schrieb der dorischen Ordnung maskuline Qualitäten zu. Siehe dazu etwa Hart (2011), S. 154.

⁶⁶ Interessanterweise orientierte Wren sich an John Webbs nicht ausgeführten Plänen für den königlichen Palast in Greenwich: Bold (1989), S. 128, fig. 6 (Rekonstruktionszeichnung); Stevenson (2000), S. 56–57, 71.

fen, in denen Menschen sich ausgeglichener fühlen können – denn „it is from the asymmetrie of our Buildings, want of decorum and proportion of our Houses, that the irregularity of our humours and affections may be shrewdly discern'd: But it is from His Majesties great Genius [...] that we may hope to see it all reform'd.“⁶⁷

Wie ich bereits herausgearbeitet habe, würdigt Antonio Verrios Wandbild den Beitrag des Königs zur Erneuerung Londons nach dem Stadtbrand von 1666. Durch die Errichtung einer symmetrischen, klassisch akzentuierten und dadurch besonders ehrenvollen Unterkunft für die Kriegsveteranen hat Karl II. ein Werk geschaffen, das dem von John Evelyn in seinen Widmungstexten zur *Parallèle* formulierten Ideal eines neuen, an der Antike orientierten Städtebaus nahekommt. Damit erschöpft sich die Bedeutung von Fréarts Text für meine Interpretation jedoch noch lange nicht. Gerade der durch Evelyns Übersetzung in die englische Diskussion eingeführte Vergleich von Antike und Moderne besitzt für Verrios Wandbild hohe Relevanz, wie im folgenden Abschnitt dargelegt werden soll.

14.4 Die Konkurrenz zwischen Paris und London und die *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*

Obwohl John Evelyns 1666 vorgelegter Generalplan für den Wiederaufbau Londons nicht realisiert wurde, dürfte er die neuen Bauprojekte in der Stadt insgesamt mit Wohlgefallen verfolgt haben. An vielen Stellen wurde nun auf die Antike Bezug genommen: Beispielsweise imitierte die Kolossalsäule, die zwischen 1671 und 1677 zur Erinnerung an den großen Brand errichtet wurde, die antiken Triumphsäulen Roms.⁶⁸

1664 hatte der Hof-Historiograph Charles Howell im Auftrag des Königs die Monographie *Proedria Basilikè: A Discourse Concerning the Precedency of Kings* veröffentlicht, in der er nachzuweisen suchte, dass der englische König rechtmäßig den Vorrang vor allen anderen europäischen Monarchen beanspruchen dürfe.⁶⁹ Karl II. wollte diesen Führungsanspruch durch seine eigenen Bauprojekte untermauern und natürlich auch im Stadtbild von London kommunizieren. Bereits John Evelyn hatte den König als Bauherren mit Kaiser Augustus verglichen. Diesem Topos entsprechend, sollte London zu einem ‚neuen Rom‘ und damit zur Hauptstadt Europas stilisiert werden. Solche Gedanken manifestierten sich z. B. in mehreren öffentlichen Ehrenstatuen Karls II., die den König als antiken Imperator präsentierten.⁷⁰

⁶⁷Fréart (1664), S. 2 des Widmungsbrieves an Denham (unpaginiert).

⁶⁸Vgl. Stevenson (2005), S. 46–48; Stevenson (2013), S. 222, 224, 234.

⁶⁹Vgl. Kampmann (2001), S. 243–251.

⁷⁰Vgl. Gibson (1997), S. 178–189; Stevenson (2013), S. 163–164, 176; Bird und Clayton (2017), S. 336–337.

Daraus ergab sich zwangsläufig eine Konkurrenz mit Paris, denn auch Ludwig XIV. sah sich selbst als legitimen Nachfahren der antiken Imperatoren.⁷¹ Die britische Öffentlichkeit betrachtete Frankreich seit den späten 1660er Jahren als den politischen Hauptfeind.⁷² Für Karl II., der die Zeit seines Exils größtenteils am französischen Königshof verbracht hatte, sah die Situation etwas komplexer aus. Während er zu Anfang seiner Herrschaft nicht nur kulturell, sondern auch politisch die Nähe zu Ludwig XIV. gesucht hatte, distanzierte er sich in der zweiten Hälfte der 1670er Jahre zunehmend von dem mächtigen Cousin. Zugleich nahmen seine Kunstprojekte aber immer wieder auf französische Vorbilder Bezug.⁷³

Wie bereits gesagt, konkurrierte die Gründung des Royal Hospital in Chelsea mit dem Hôtel des Invalides. Darüber hinaus referenziert Wrens Architektur jedoch noch ein weiteres zentrales Monument der französischen Monarchie. Die paarweise angeordneten (gekuppelten) Säulen der Kolonnaden, die die zentrale Portikus seitlich einfassen, besitzen kein antikes Vorbild (Abb. 14.2). Vielmehr erinnern sie an die damals erst vor kurzem fertiggestellte Louvre-Fassade und verweisen damit auf die in Paris heftig geführte Debatte zwischen ‚anciens‘ und ‚modernes‘.⁷⁴ Es ging dabei u. a. um die Frage, inwiefern moderne Architekten vom antiken Vorbild abweichen dürften. Fréart de Chambray hatte die Antike zur absoluten Autorität erklärt, während der Kreis der ‚modernes‘ um Claude und Charles Perrault das Recht reklamierte, die antiken Vorbilder (wie im Fall der Louvre-Kolonnade) auf neue Art zu interpretieren.⁷⁵ Sowohl John Evelyn als auch Christopher Wren waren aufgeschlossen für die Position der ‚modernes‘.⁷⁶ Wenngleich Evelyn mit der *Parallèle* einen Schlüsseltext der ‚anciens‘ übersetzt hatte, war er bereit, zeitgenössischen Architekten kreative Freiheiten zuzugestehen, z. B. „changes of proportion“.⁷⁷

Verrios Wandbild hebt genau die ‚modernes‘ Aspekte von Wrens Architektur hervor. Die den König umgebenden Allegorien sind so angeordnet, dass in der rechten Bildhälfte ein Durchblick auf das Hospitalgebäude entsteht (Abb. 14.1). Dadurch ist das Frontispiz des rechten Seitentrakts mit den extrem gelängten Proportionen der Kolossalpilaster gut sichtbar, ebenso wie die Kolonnade mit den gekuppelten Säulen und die Kombination von Backstein und Haustein. Die unklassische Laterne wird durch den Lorbeerkranz besonders betont. Der Giebel der zentralen Portikus scheint den Kopf des Königs zu bekrönen. Karl II. wird gewissermaßen in die Architektur eingeschrieben, wodurch die Funktion des Hospitals

⁷¹ Beispielsweise sollte Ludwig XIV. in zahlreichen Reiterstatuen durchgehend *all'antica* präsentiert werden: Martin (1986); Ziegler (2010), S. 116–124.

⁷² Vgl. Tombs und Tombs (2006); Tombs (2015), S. 304–305; Claydon (2007), S. 152–192.

⁷³ Strunck (2021), speziell Kap. 2 und 3.

⁷⁴ Eine Gesamtschau der *Querelle* bietet Mayer (2012).

⁷⁵ Taddell (1980); Levine (1999), S. 165–172.

⁷⁶ Levine (1999), S. 23, 29–32, 163–165, 169–170, 174–178.

⁷⁷ Levine (1999), S. 170.

als königliches Monument (in Konkurrenz zum Hôtel des Invalides des französischen Königs) unmittelbar anschaulich ist.

Im Zusammenhang der Rivalität mit Frankreich verdient auch die Präsentation Karls II. hoch zu Ross besondere Beachtung. 1685 hatte die französische Regierung eine Statuenkampagne initiiert, die die Großstädte des Landes mit Reitermonumenten Ludwigs XIV. überziehen sollte. In den Jahren 1685 und 1686 wurde beschlossen, Reiterstatuen zu Ehren des Königs in Paris, Besançon, Grenoble, Nantes, Toulouse, Lille, Montpellier, Aix-en-Provence, Marseille, Lyon und Dijon zu errichten.⁷⁸ Der *Mercure Galant*, die wichtigste französische Zeitschrift jener Epoche, berichtete fast jeden Monat über neue Initiativen dieser Art.⁷⁹

Referenzgröße für die zahlreichen Reiterstatuen der Frühen Neuzeit war stets das antike Reitermonument für Kaiser Mark Aurel, das von Michelangelo auf dem Kapitol aufgestellt worden war.⁸⁰ Die Errichtung einer Reiterstatue implizierte folglich immer auch den Vergleich mit dem antiken Rom. Ludwig XIV. verstärkte diese Parallele noch, indem er sich durchgehend *all'antica* gekleidet porträtieren ließ.⁸¹ Die Statuenkampagne von 1685/86 sollte die imperiale Selbstsicht des französischen Königs in allen Hauptstädten seines Reiches anschaulich machen. Zugleich war diese antikisierende Präsentation Ludwigs XIV. verknüpft mit der damals intensiv debattierten *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, die nicht nur die Architektur, sondern alle Kunstgattungen betraf und letztlich in der Frage kulminierte, ob das Frankreich von „Louis le Grand“ vielleicht sogar die Antike übertriffe.⁸²

Daher dürfte es kein Zufall gewesen sein, dass Antonio Verrio nur ein paar Jahre später ausgerechnet die Reiterfigur des Königs zum Zentrum seines Wandbildes im Royal Hospital von Chelsea machte. Das traditionelle Stifterbild hätte eine ganz andere Ikonographie vorgesehen, nämlich die Übergabe einer Stiftungsurkunde an eine Versammlung von Würdenträgern.⁸³ Dass Verrio von dieser überlieferten Bildformel abwich, erklärt sich meiner Meinung nach aus dem Versuch, es ganz bewusst mit der französischen Statuenkampagne aufzunehmen. Vielleicht kannte er sogar einen Stich, der Ludwig XIV. in ähnlicher Weise als Triumphator über die vielköpfige Hydra inszenierte (Abb. 14.4).⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Martin (1986), S. 70.

⁷⁹ Martin (1986), S. 64.

⁸⁰ Hunecke (2008), S. 13–22.

⁸¹ Martin (1986); Ziegler (2010), S. 116–124.

⁸² Levine (1999), S. 165–169; Mayer (2012).

⁸³ Vgl. Strunck (2021), pl. 41. Ebenso wenig wie am traditionellen Stifterbild orientierte sich Verrio mit seiner allegorischen Komposition an der Ausstattung des Hôtel des Invalides, dessen Refektorien zwischen 1678 und 1680 mit zeitgenössischen Schlachtenbildern dekoriert worden waren: Delaplanche (2015), S. 34–35.

⁸⁴ Martin (1986), S. 194–198, bringt den Stich mit Pugets nicht realisierter Reiterstatue für Marseille in Verbindung, doch ist dies nicht gesichert.

Abb. 14.4 Louis David nach Pierre Péro (Perru), Reiterstandbild Ludwigs XIV. mit Hydra, Stich. (Aus Martin (1986), S. 197)



Abb. 14.5 Unbekannter italienischer Künstler und Jasper Latham, Reiterstatue Karls II., 1672. Früher auf dem Stocks Market in London, heute Newby Hall bei Leeds. (Aus Stevenson (2013), S. 197, fig. 98)



In London existierte bereits eine steinerne Reiterstatue Karls II., die künstlerisch aber ausgesprochen bescheiden war (Abb. 14.5). Die Skulptur war in unvollendetem Zustand aus Italien importiert und 1672 auf dem Stocks Market aufgestellt worden, nachdem Jasper Latham sie mit einem neuen Kopf versehen hatte. Das Ganze geschah auf Initiative des Bankiers Robert Vyner, der schließlich 1674 zum Bürgermeister von London gewählt wurde.⁸⁵ Ein weiterer Getreuer des Königs, sein Kammerdiener Tobias Rustat, suchte Karl II. durch ein qualitativteres Reitermonument zu ehren. Das bei Grinling Gibbons in Auftrag gegebene und von seinem deutschen Mitarbeiter Josias Ibach realisierte Bronzestandbild, das 1680 im Schlosshof von Windsor Castle errichtet wurde, zeigte den König *all'antica* (Abb. 14.6)⁸⁶ – „almost naked“, wie Zeitgenossen pikiert berichteten.⁸⁷ Im Vergleich dazu wollte Verrio offenbar klarstellen, dass er imstande war, ein wesentlich besseres und wahrhaft würdiges Reiterbildnis Karls II. zu liefern.

⁸⁵ Stevenson (2013), S. 196–199.

⁸⁶ Beard (1989), S. 59–60; Gibson (1997), S. 179–181; Thurley (2018), S. 226–227 (mit Abb.).

⁸⁷ Gibson (1997), S. 100.



Abb. 14.6 Grinling Gibbons und Josias Ibach, Reiterstandbild Karls II. *all'antica*, 1679. Windsor Castle, Schlosshof. (Aus Thurley (2018), S. 227, fig. 19.9)

Abb. 14.7 Anton van Dyck, Reiterbildnis Karls I. mit Seigneur de Saint Antoine, 1633. (Aus Shawe-Taylor (2018), S. 143)



Als Inspirationsquelle diente ihm van Dycks berühmtes Reiterporträt Karls I., das der Hofmaler Verrio in den königlichen Sammlungen studieren konnte (Abb. 14.7, vgl. Abb. 14.1).⁸⁸ Während der bronzene Reiter in Windsor zu groß für sein Pferd und stocksteif wirkt, dynamisiert Verrio die Pose des Königs und imitiert dabei das Bildnis Karls I. Das Pferd ist jeweils schräg von links gesehen und strebt mit erhobenem rechten Vorderbein diagonal aus dem Bild heraus, während der Reiter die Betrachter fixiert. In beiden Gemälden kommt das Licht von links und bildet schimmernde Reflexe auf der Rüstung, die sich dunkel gegen das helle Fell des Pferdes abhebt. Sogar die Rahmung Karls II. durch die schwebenden Allegorien korrespondiert mit der optischen Einfassung Karls I. durch den gemalten Triumphbogen. Die Parallelen sind insgesamt so zahlreich, dass man hier von einem bildkünstlerischen, intramedialen Übersetzungsprozess sprechen kann.

⁸⁸ Shawe-Taylor (2018).

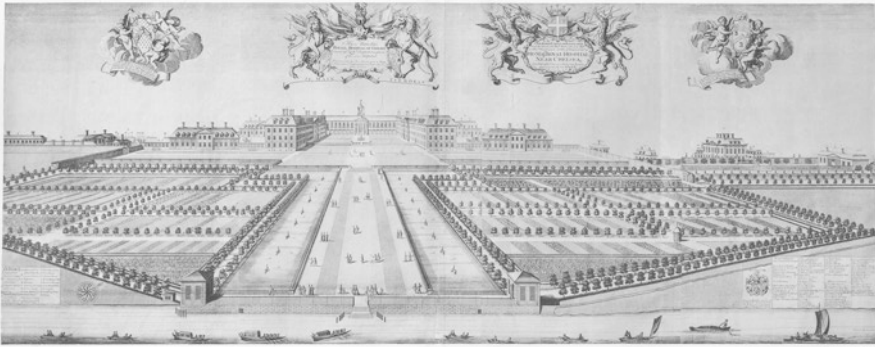


Abb. 14.8 Das Royal Hospital in Chelsea aus der Vogelperspektive, Stich aus dem späten 17. Jh. (Aus Bolton und Hendry (1942), pl. XXXI)

Die italienische Kunsttheorie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts war geprägt von der Vorstellung eines Wettstreits der Künste und Künstler. Unter dem Oberbegriff des sogenannten *paragone* suchten Maler und Bildhauer die künstlerische Rivalität.⁸⁹ Antonio Verrio inszenierte im Royal Hospital von Chelsea sogar einen mehrfachen *paragone*: Er konkurrierte mit den Reitermonumenten, die gleichzeitig im Zuge der französischen Statuenkampagne entstanden, führte den Betrachtern die Überlegenheit seines gemalten Reiterbildnisses im Vergleich zu den englischen Reiterstatuen Karls II. vor Augen und bewies seine Ebenbürtigkeit mit Anton van Dyck, einem berühmten Vorgänger im Amt des englischen Hofmalers.

Die Pointe besteht nun darin, wie Verrio sein Reiterbildnis im Gemälde platzierte. Auf einem Stich aus dem späten 17. Jahrhundert ist zu erkennen, dass sich das Royal Hospital ursprünglich der Themse zuwandte (Abb. 14.8). Im Vordergrund erscheint der Fluss, von dem aus ein breiter Weg direkt auf die Mittellachse des Hospitals hinführt. Vor dem Haupteingang ist eine Statue Karls II. von Grinling Gibbons eingezeichnet, die sich ab spätestens 1686 im Royal Hospital befand. Gibbons' vergoldete Skulptur, die wie das Reiterstandbild in Windsor von Tobias Rustat gestiftet wurde, präsentiert den König wiederum *all'antica* mit den Gesichtszügen Julius Caesars (Abb. 14.2, 14.9).⁹⁰ Wenn der Sockel nicht mit dem Namen des Dargestellten beschriftet wäre, könnte man in der Figur unmöglich Karl II. erkennen. Gibbons geht es darum, die historische Bedeutung des Königs bzw. seine Ebenbürtigkeit mit den antiken Kaisern herauszuarbeiten.

Verrios Wandbild zeigt denselben Blick auf das Royal Hospital wie die erwähnte Vedute (Abb. 14.1, 14.8). Der König reitet auf dem Weg, der von der

⁸⁹Zum *paragone* siehe etwa Baader et al. (2007), Preimesberger (2011); Pfisterer (2017).

⁹⁰Gibson (1997), S. 187, 221. Siehe auch Bolton und Hendry (1942), S. 80; Beard (1989), S. 61–62, 196–197.

Abb. 14.9 Grinling Gibbons, Standbild Karls II. vor dem Royal Hospital in Chelsea, vollendet 1686. (Foto: Strunck)



Themse zum Hauptgebäude verläuft. Gibbons' Statue, die auf derselben Achse stehen müsste, ist hingegen völlig verdeckt. So triumphiert Verrio nicht nur über Gibbons, den führenden Hofbildhauer, sondern nimmt auch Stellung zur *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*: Durch das Reiterbildnis greift er zwar einen antiken Bildtypus auf, interpretiert ihn aber unter Bezugnahme auf van Dyck dezidiert modern und stellt damit Gibbons' antikisierende Statue des Königs buchstäblich in den Schatten.

14.5 Zusammenfassung und Ergebnisse

Der vorliegende Text befasst sich mit drei verschiedenen Arten von Übersetzungsprozessen. Ausgehend von Reflexionen über die Absichten der interlingualen Übersetzung von Fréart de Chambrays *Parallèle*, nimmt diese Studie künstlerische Übersetzungsprozesse in den Blick, die sowohl die Architektur als auch die Ausstattung des Royal Hospital in Chelsea betreffen. Wenn Wren in seinem Hospitalbau die Louvre-Kolonnade referenziert bzw. wenn Verrios Wandbild van Dycks Reiterbildnis Karls I. zitiert, kann dies als intramediale Übersetzung (innerhalb desselben Mediums) bezeichnet werden (Abb. 14.1, 14.7). Dass eine gestochene Illustration aus der *Parallèle* in gebaute Architektur umgesetzt wurde, hat hingegen als intermedialer Übersetzungsprozess zu gelten (Abb. 14.2, 14.3). Auch die Bezüge von Verrios Gemälde zu einer französischen Graphik (Abb. 14.4), zu englischen Reiterstatuen Karls II. (Abb. 14.5, 14.6) sowie zur französischen Statuenkampagne besitzen eine intermediale Komponente.

Abschließend möchte ich auf meine eingangs formulierten Thesen zurückkommen. John Evelyns englische Übersetzung der *Parallèle* bildet einen Referenzrahmen, der es ermöglicht, Charakteristika der Architektur und Ausstattung des Royal

Hospital genauer zu verstehen. Es konnte gezeigt werden, wieso das Gebäude ungewöhnlicherweise mit einer antiken Tempelfront versehen wurde und inwiefern Antonio Verrio den von Fréart thematisierten Vergleich von Antike und Moderne visualisierte. Indem Verrio in seinem Wandbild klar zugunsten der Moderne Position bezog, lieferte er gewissermaßen einen bildlichen Kommentar zur *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*.

Seit der Gründung des Royal Hospital stand fest, dass dieses in Konkurrenz zum Hôtel des Invalides in Paris gesehen werden sollte. Evelyn und Verrio nahmen ebenfalls auf französische Vorbilder (Fréart bzw. die Statuenkampagne Ludwigs XIV.) Bezug, doch wurden diese im Übersetzungsprozess neu interpretiert. Während für Fréart die griechische Antike das unübertreffliche Modell war, zielte Evelyn darauf ab, London zu einem ‚neuen Rom‘ zu machen, um die imperiale Größe Karls II. herauszustreichen. Damit formulierte er eine Idee, die in der urbanistischen Gestaltung von ‚Restoration London‘ vielfach aufgegriffen wurde, um die politische und kulturelle Konkurrenz zwischen England und Frankreich zu pointieren. Entsprechend setzte sich Wrens klassizistische Architektur des Royal Hospital dezidiert vom Hôtel des Invalides ab.

Ein ebenso vielschichtiger Übersetzungsprozess konditionierte die Entstehung von Verrios Wandbild. Für das militärische Publikum des Royal Hospital in Chelsea dürfte eine *all'antica*-Darstellung des Königs („almost naked“) inakzeptabel gewesen sein. Indem Verrio Karl II. bewusst in moderner Rüstung präsentierte, schuf er nicht nur ein Bild des Monarchen, das die Veteranen an aktuelle Siege Großbritanniens (u. a. im Kampf gegen Frankreich) erinnerte, sondern entwarf auch ein zeitgenössisches ‚image‘ der Monarchie. Verrio überbot Grinling Gibbons und die *all'antica*-Reiterstatuen Ludwigs XIV., von denen ab 1685 regelmäßig in den Zeitungen berichtet wurde, in doppelter Hinsicht: Zum einen zeigte er einen ‚modernen‘ König, zum anderen suggerierte er durch die Kontextualisierung des Bildnisses, dass dieser König sich nicht primär um die eigene Selbstdarstellung, sondern um das Wohl seines Staates und seiner Untertanen kümmere.

In Bezug auf das Leitthema ‚Übersetzungspolitiken‘ bleibt festzuhalten, dass die hier thematisierten interlingualen, architektonischen und bildkünstlerischen Übersetzungsprozesse eine eminent politische Funktion besaßen. Durch die Übersetzung von Fréarts *Parallèle* wollte John Evelyn dem Monarchen Leitlinien für eine neue britische Baupolitik an die Hand geben, um eine Verbesserung der sozialen Situation in London zu erreichen. Im Dialog mit Christopher Wren suchte Evelyn diese Maximen beim Bau des Royal Hospital umzusetzen. Indem Verrio das Gebäude als Beitrag Karls II. zum Wiederaufbau Londons nach dem verheerenden Stadtbrand präsentierte, visualisierte er die Fürsorge des Königs für die (als Personifikation an ihn appellierende) Stadt London und warb damit um Zustimmung für die Politik des Monarchen.

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Kapitel 15

Politiken der Übersetzung – Übersetzung von Machtbeziehungen. Ein Nachwort



Antje Flüchter und Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink

15.1 Politik und Macht

In der konzeptuellen Ausrichtung der Konferenz, aus dem der vorliegende Band hervorgegangen ist, wurde anstelle des Begriffs ‚Macht‘ der Begriff ‚Politik‘ vorgezogen bzw. deutlich stärker konturiert. Wie fruchtbar die Verwendung des Begriffs ‚Macht‘ für die Analyse von Übersetzungsprozessen und -strategien sein kann, zeigen verschiedene Beiträge dieses Bandes, die implizit auf jene zwei Dimensionen des ‚Macht‘-Begriffs zurückgreifen¹, die Michel Foucault in seinen Arbeiten zur ‚Genealogie der Macht‘ („Généalogie du pouvoir“) unterscheidet: nämlich zum einen den institutionenbezogenen Machtbegriff, der den Blick auf Institutionen der Machtausübung und Herrschaft, wie vor allem Staat, Kirche, Justiz, und institutionelle Instanzen wie Zensurbehörden und Verleger lenkt. Der andere, relationale Machtbegriff, den Foucault „Relations de pouvoir“ („Machtbeziehungen“) nennt², durchdringt alle sozialen, kulturellen, ökonomischen und politischen

¹Vgl. z. B. die Beiträge von Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann und Ekaterina Simonova-Gudzenko (s. Kap. 12) und Katja Triplet (s. Kap. 9) im vorliegenden Band.

²Vgl. hierzu u. a. Foucault (2005).

Translated by Nicola Morris and Melanie Newton (Tradukas GbR), see Chapter 16).

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Verhältnisse (oder Relationen) und damit auch Übersetzungsvorgänge in ihren verschiedensten Ausprägungen und Formen. Diese ‚Machtbeziehungen‘ sind nach Foucault mit ‚Machttechnologien‘³ verbunden, die – etwa im Bereich der Übersetzungen – Identitätsmuster von Übersetzer*innen ebenso beeinflussten wie ihre Text- und Vermarktungsstrategien. Sie führten etwa dazu, dass viele Übersetzerinnen bis ins späte 18. Jahrhundert hinein ihren Namen nicht offiziell und öffentlich nennen wollten – beispielsweise auf den Titelblättern übersetzter Bücher – und selbst berühmte und der Öffentlichkeit mittelbar bekannte Übersetzerinnen wie Isabelle de Charrière, Übersetzerin der Werke Isaac Newtons ins Französische, oder Therese Huber, die Ehefrau des deutschen Ethnologen und Naturhistorikers Georg Forster, ihre Übersetzungen nicht mit ihrem eigenen Namen, sondern dem ihres Ehemanns oder anonym veröffentlichten. Dies ist mit dem mangelnden Prestige der Tätigkeit von Übersetzern und Übersetzerinnen in der Frühen Neuzeit verbunden; aber auch und in erster Linie mit kultur- und epochenspezifischen Geschlechterbeziehungen und Rollenbildern. Beide sind mit strukturellen bzw. relationalen Machtverhältnissen im Sinn Foucaults verknüpft.⁴

Machtbeziehungen – in diesem Fall gleichfalls asymmetrischer Art – finden sich nicht nur auf der Mikroebene von Übersetzern und Übersetzerinnen und ihren Texten, sondern auch auf der Makroebene von Übersetzungskonjunkturen und den mit ihnen verbundenen Kulturtransferprozessen. Die dominanten Ausgangssprachen für Übersetzungen in der Frühen Neuzeit waren zunächst das Lateinische, gefolgt vom Italienischen und Spanischen und seit dem Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts dem Französischen. Erst in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 18. Jahrhunderts verdrängte das Französische das Lateinische als wichtigste Ausgangssprache von Übersetzungen in Europa, gefolgt nunmehr vom Englischen und in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 18. Jahrhunderts vom Deutschen, die sich beide sukzessive eine immer stärkere Position auf dem europäischen Übersetzungsmarkt eroberten.⁵ So wurde der *Don Quijote* von Cervantes nahezu unmittelbar nach seinem Erscheinen in Spanien bereits 1612 ins Englische übersetzt, während umgekehrt Shakespeares Theaterstück *Hamlet*, das zu etwa derselben Zeit in England erschien, erst 1798 ins Spanische übertragen wurde,⁶ eine Situation, die sich mit dem Aufstieg Englands als koloniale Weltmacht und literarisches und wissenschaftliches Zentrum ab den 1750er Jahren grundlegend änderte. Die Dominanz bestimmter Übersetzungssprachen und die ihnen zugrundeliegenden Machtverhältnisse lassen sich auf – nur teilweise unmittelbar hiermit verbundene – Formen der kulturellen und politischen Hegemonie zurückführen, aber auch auf Phänomene wie soziales Prestige und kulturelles Renommee eines Kulturraums, seiner Sprache sowie seiner

³Foucault (2005), S. 230: „Diese Machtmechanismen und Machtverfahren müssen wir als Techniken verstehen, die erfunden und verbessert und ständig weiterentwickelt werden.“

⁴Vgl. hierzu auch den Beitrag von Regina Toepfer im vorliegenden Band (s. Kap. 6).

⁵Vgl. hierzu exemplarisch für das Französische als Zielsprache von Übersetzungen aus anderen Sprachen in der Frühen Neuzeit Nies (2009); sowie die Graphik in Nies (2009), S. 20.

⁶Vgl. hierzu Chartier (2021), S. 14.

akademischen Institutionen. Die kulturelle Geographie, die Franco Moretti in seinem *Atlas of the European Novel* (1997/1998) entwirft, zeigt eindrucksvoll am Beispiel der Romanproduktion, -zirkulation und -rezeption, wie kulturelle Transfers und Übersetzungsflüsse kulturelle ‚Machtrelationen‘ („power relations“⁷), d. h. die Hegemonie bestimmter Modelle und Autor*innen, widerspiegeln. Während in Großbritannien und Frankreich, den dominierenden Zentren der Romanproduktion in Europa zwischen 1750 und 1850, nur zwischen 16 % und 25 % des Buchmarktes für Romane aus Übersetzungen bestanden, stieg dieser Anteil in Deutschland und Italien auf 45 % und in Polen, Dänemark und Russland auf 70–85 %.⁸ Letztere stellten herausragende Zielländer für Übersetzungen aus anderen Ländern dar, vor allem aus Frankreich und Großbritannien, deren Romanproduktion europaweit modell- und geschmacksbildend war. Die Konjunktur asymmetrischer Übersetzungszirkulationen ging hier somit einher mit dem Transfer von ästhetischen Modellen, die in den kulturellen ‚Peripherien‘ übernommen und nachgeahmt, aber zugleich auch adaptiert und lokal angepasst wurden – ein Phänomen der *Domestication*, das in der Frühen Neuzeit in einer Vielzahl von kulturellen Feldern beobachtet werden kann und auf das noch ausführlicher zurückzukommen sein wird.

Machtbestimmte kulturelle Asymmetrien zeigen sich, mit Blick auf Kulturtransferprozesse im Bereich der Übersetzungen, auch in der Rolle bestimmter Sprachen als herausragender ‚Relais-Sprachen‘. So diente das Französische im 18. Jahrhundert, als dominierende Kultur- und Kommunikationssprache der sozialen Eliten, häufig als ‚Relaisprache‘ für Übersetzungen aus dem Spanischen und Portugiesischen ins Deutsche, Englische und Russische sowie in die skandinavischen Sprachen. Diese Rolle begann das Deutsche vor allem für Übersetzungen aus den slawischen Sprachen seit den letzten Jahrzehnten des 18. Jahrhunderts einzunehmen. So erfolgten im ausgehenden 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert sämtliche Übersetzungen von Baltasar Graciáns europaweit rezipiertem Werk *Oraculo manual y Arte de Prudencia* (1647, ‚Handorakel und die Kunst der Weltklugheit‘) in andere europäische Sprachen (Deutsch, Italienisch, Englisch, Niederländisch, Lateinisch) ausschließlich auf der Grundlage der französischen Übersetzung. Bezeichnenderweise wurde hierbei auch nicht der spanische Originaltitel, sondern der französische Titel *L'Homme de Cour* („Der Hofmann“), der dem Werk eine völlig neue Sinndimension verlieh, von den Übersetzungen übernommen.⁹

Auch die zweite erwähnte Dimension des Foucaultschen Machtbegriffs und seine Umsetzung in konkrete Politik und Machtausübung muss in ihren verschiedenen Komponenten als Einflussfaktor auf Übersetzungsprozesse berücksichtigt werden. Wie aber ist Politik hier zu fassen? Die neue Kulturgeschichte hat die einfachen Machtdefinitionen im Sinne Max Webers durch ein komplexeres und

⁷Moretti (1998), S. 187.

⁸Vgl. Moretti (1998), S. 152, Graphik „Percentage of foreign novels in European literatures (1750–1850)“.

⁹Vgl. zu diesem Beispiel ausführlich Chartier (2021), S. 76–80.

dialektischeres Verständnis ersetzt,¹⁰ versteht sie oft auch als Aushandlungsprozesse und Deutungskämpfe.¹¹ Im weitesten Sinne können Herrschaftshandeln und politische Prozesse ebenfalls als Übersetzung verstanden werden, mussten doch obrigkeitliche Entscheidungen für die Bevölkerung übersetzt werden und übersetzten sich die Untertanen wiederum selber die obrigkeitlichen Gesetze im Sinne einer Aneignung. Diese Formen des Politischen und der Politik wirkten aber ebenfalls direkt auf Übersetzungen ein, reglementierten sie vielleicht auch konkret oder versuchten dies wenigstens.¹² Verschiedene Beiträge unserer Tagung sowie die hieraus hervorgegangenen, im vorliegenden Band veröffentlichten Aufsätze thematisierten das direkt.¹³ Eindeutige Einflussnahmen, wie Zensur und Index, sind dabei leichter nachzuweisen als die Frage, welche Rolle das Feld des Politischen für die wirtschaftliche Seite jeder Übersetzung spielte. Die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Politik und Verlegern sollten noch genauer aufgearbeitet werden.¹⁴

15.2 Materialitäten und Textsorten

Übersetzungen, im vorliegenden Band analysiert unter dem Blickwinkel von Machtstrukturen und kulturellen Filtern, manifestieren sich in den verschiedensten Materialitäten der Kommunikation und in den unterschiedlichsten Medialitäten und Textsorten. Hierbei werden – wie in den Beiträgen des vorliegenden Bandes auch zu beobachten ist – die Begriffe ‚Text‘ und ‚Übersetzung‘ semiotisch gefasst, das heißt sie schließen alle potentiellen Zeichentypen und -codes ein. Das hiermit erfasste Spektrum von Texten und Prozessen bewegt sich zwischen Übersetzungen als Phänomenen mündlicher Alltagskommunikation¹⁵ bis hin zu Übersetzungen

¹⁰ Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger definierte beispielsweise das Politische als den „Handlungsraum, in dem es um die Herstellung und Durchführung kollektiver verbindlicher Entscheidungen geht“, Stollberg-Rilinger (2005), S. 9–24, 13–14.

¹¹ Modelle interaktiver und dialektischer Herrschaft und Staatsbildung wurden vor allem um die Jahrtausendwende in der Geschichtswissenschaft diskutiert, vgl. Landwehr (2000), S. 47–70; Brakensiek und Wunder (2005).

¹² Peter Burke spricht so von einer *translation policy* der nachreformatorischen katholischen Kirche, d. h. der Übersetzungspolitik der gegenreformatorischen Kirche, Burke (2007), S. 7–38, 16; ähnlich argumentierte auf unserer Konferenz Avraham Siluk in seinem Kommentar zu Katja Triplet (s. Kap. 9).

¹³ Vgl. dazu auch die Ausführungen in der Einleitung dieses Bandes; die spanische Kolonialmacht wirkte ebenfalls auf Übersetzungspraktiken in Rechtsprechung und Evangelisierung ein, wie die japanischen Behörden jesuitische Missionierung und damit auch Übersetzungen ganz verhindern wollten. Wichtige Aspekte arbeitet Elena Parina mit Blick auf konfessionelle Übersetzungspolitik in England und Wales auf (s. Kap. 7).

¹⁴ Wichtige Ansätze dazu im Beitrag von Helge Perplies in diesem Band (s. Kap. 3).

¹⁵ „Translation as a normal form of communication“, wie Sonja Brentjes dies in einem Diskussionsbeitrag während der Konferenz formulierte.

von stark kodifizierten und ritualisierten diplomatischen Unterhandlungen und Empfängen¹⁶. Hiermit kommen Übersetzungen als kulturelle Artefakte im semiotischen Sinn in den Blick, die, wie die Beiträge des vorliegenden Bandes belegen, gedruckte Texte ebenso umfassen können wie Manuskripte, Bilder, Skulpturen, Musikkompositionen, architektonische Bauten und geographische Karten.¹⁷ Nur ein Teil dieser Artefakte – im Wesentlichen Texte – trägt explizit die paratextuelle Bezeichnung „Übersetzung“ bzw. „Translation“ oder „Traduction“, gelegentlich gefolgt vom Namen des Übersetzers/der Übersetzerin und in zahlreichen Fällen ergänzt durch Zusätze wie „frei übersetzt nach“, „adapté de“ oder auch „revised, corrected and enlarged.“¹⁸

Ein semiotisch gefasster Übersetzungsbegriff rückt somit theoretische Konzepte und mit ihnen Prozesse in den Blick, die in den Beiträgen des vorliegenden Bandes – zweifelsohne auch aufgrund sehr unterschiedlicher wissenschaftlicher Fachtraditionen – wenig oder keine Berücksichtigung gefunden haben: so vor allem die theoretischen Begriffe und Konzepte Transposition, Rezeption, Adaption, (Kultur)Transfer, Intertextualität, Paratextualität, ‚Rewriting‘ und Heterolinguisimus, die jeweils Prozesse der textuellen Transformation und in vielen Fällen auch der Übersetzung betreffen. Je nach Untersuchungsdesign kommt diesen theoretischen Konzepten, die jeweils mit methodischen Analyseverfahren verbunden sind, ein unterschiedlicher Stellenwert zu. Sie legen nahe, zumindest Teile des erwähnten Spektrums von Übersetzungsvorgängen systematisch mit Textsorten zu verknüpfen, die keine Übersetzungen im eigentlichen Sinn des Begriffs darstellen, aber strukturell mit ihnen verbunden sind: so etwa die Textsorte der Rezension, die, wenn sie fremdkulturelle Artefakte betrifft, neben Erläuterungen und Formen der kommentierenden kulturellen Aneignung (*Domestication*) im Allgemeinen auch Übersetzungssequenzen im engeren Sinn umfasst. Die Textverfahren der Übertragung (in eine fremde Sprache), des Kommentierens und des Erläuterns systematisch im Hinblick auf Übersetzungsprozesse des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts miteinander zu verbinden, legt auch der anders gelagerte Bedeutungsgehalt von ‚Übersetzung‘ in der Frühen Neuzeit nahe. ‚Trasladar‘ bedeutete, so Roger Chartier, etwa im Spanischen (nach dem *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* von 1611) neben ‚von einem Ort zum anderen bringen‘ auch ‚sprachlich übertragen‘ sowie ‚interpretieren‘ und ‚kopieren‘.¹⁹

Intertextuelle und intermediale Bezüge, d. h. explizite oder implizite Bezugnahmen auf andere, häufig auch fremdsprachige, Texte und Medien schließen in

¹⁶Burschel und Vogel (2014).

¹⁷Vgl. dazu in diesem Band: Alberto Tiburcio und Víctor de Castro León (s. Kap. 10), Katja Triplett (s. Kap. 9), Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann und Ekaterina Simonova-Gudzenko (s. Kap. 12), Christina Strunck (s. Kap. 14).

¹⁸So der Untertitel der englischen Übersetzung des *Grand Dictionnaire historique* (1674) von Louis Moréri, das in der englischen Übersetzung unter dem Titel *The Great historical, geographical, genealogical and poetical dictionary* (erstmalig London 1688) erschien.

¹⁹Chartier (2021), S. 50.

der Tat häufig Übersetzungsprozesse ein, nicht selten eingebettet in Kommentare und Erläuterungen.²⁰ Zahlreiche Übersetzungen im semiotischen Sinn des Begriffs verbinden verschiedene Textsorten und Materialitäten der Kommunikation: Text und Bild,²¹ gedruckte Texte und Gesangsnoten, Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit, kartographische Darstellung und gedruckten Kommentar, für deren Analyse in den letzten Jahrzehnten die Intermedialitätsforschung ein sehr differenziertes, aber außerhalb der Kulturwissenschaften wenig genutztes methodisches Instrumentarium entwickelt hat.²² Zu den Materialitäten der Kommunikation, die in Übersetzungsprozessen eine wichtige und häufig vernachlässigte Rolle spielen, zählen auch Phänomene wie Format, Schrifttyp, Papierqualität, Typographie, Einband, Illustrationen, Vignetten und graphische Textgestaltung, deren Stellenwert die Buchhistoriker Donald McKenzie und Roger Chartier in wegweisenden Publikationen eindrucksvoll unter Beweis gestellt haben.²³ Die von staatlichen und kirchlichen Instanzen, aber auch von Verlegern getroffene Entscheidung darüber, ob ein übersetztes Werk lediglich als Manuskript zirkulieren oder als gedrucktes Buch erscheinen kann, ob es in Foliobänden oder im handlichen Duodezformat, ob es mit oder ohne Kupferstiche und mit oder ohne Widmung an die Obrigkeit publiziert werden soll, veränderte in entscheidendem Maße seine Rezeption, ebenso wie seine potentielle Zirkulation und in vieler Hinsicht auch seinen Sinngehalt.

15.3 Übersetzen als Kontaktzone

Übersetzungen stellen häufig kulturelle – genauer: interkulturelle – Aushandlungsprozesse dar, an denen Akteur*innen verschiedener Sprachen und Kulturen beteiligt sind: Übersetzer*innen mit ihren persönlichen und beruflichen Netzwerken, aber auch staatliche und religiöse Institutionen als Auftraggeber und Initiatoren, versuchen Form, Inhalt, Struktur und Rezeption von Übersetzungen zu steuern und zu gestalten, um eine erfolgreiche Verbreitung und Rezeption von Übersetzungen zu erreichen. Übersetzungen religiöser Texte in Missionskontexten stellen herausragende Beispiele hierfür dar.²⁴ Ebenso aufschlussreich wie erfolgreiche Übersetzungen, die häufig durch Formen der kulturellen ‚Accommodation‘ bzw. der interkulturellen Adaption von Sprachregistern, religiösen Bildern und mentalen Vorstellungsmustern – bis hin zur Auslassung wichtiger religiöser Elemente (wie dem Verweis

²⁰Vgl. zu den Beziehungen zwischen Übersetzung, Kulturtransfer und Intertextualität die Beiträge in Jørgensen und Lüsebrink (2021), S. 1–20; sowie Lüsebrink (2016), Kap. 4 („Kulturtransfer“).

²¹Vgl. hierzu den Beitrag von Helge Perplies im vorliegenden Band (s. Kap. 3).

²²Vgl. hierzu u. a. das grundlegende Werk von Rajewski (2002).

²³Vgl. hierzu Chartier (2021); McKenzie (1986); McDonald und McKenzie (2002).

²⁴Vgl. im vorliegenden Band hierzu die Beiträge von Martina Schrader-Kniffki, Yannic Klamp und Malte Kneifel (s. Kap. 4) und Giulia Nardini (s. Kap. 8).

auf die Leiden und den Tod Christi in den japanischen Übersetzungen jesuitischer Missionschriften²⁵) – können Phänomene und Prozesse interkulturellen Scheiterns sein: der Nicht-Rezeption, des kulturellen Widerstandes, des Missverständnisses und des Missverstehens, der Fehleinschätzung, der mangelnden Fähigkeit zum adäquaten Aushandeln von Übersetzungen im Hinblick auf zielkulturelle Erwartungen. Häufig werden Phänomene des Scheiterns von Übersetzungen mit dem Begriff der ‚Unübersetzbarkeit‘ erklärt, den Barbara Cassin in ihrem *Vocabulaire européen des philosophies: Dictionnaire des intraduisibles* grundlegend in Frage stellt. Die Frage der ‚Unübersetzbarkeit‘ situiert sich sprachphilosophisch im Spannungsfeld zwischen der Position des logischen Universalismus – den im 17. Jahrhundert die Grammatiker der Schule von Port-Royal, im 18. Jahrhundert u. a. der Sprachwissenschaftler und Enzyklopädist Nicolas Beauzée und im 20. Jahrhundert z. B. der Transformationsgrammatiker Noam Chomsky und der Sprachphilosoph Ludwig Wittgenstein vertraten – und einem ‚ontologischen Nationalismus‘, der von der radikalen Singularität von Sprachen und semiotischen Systemen ausgeht und sich u. a. auf die Philosophie Johann Gottfried Herders berufen kann. Barbara Cassin und die Beiträger*innen ihres *Vocabulaire européen des intraduisibles* vertreten eine jenseits dieser antagonistischen Pole angesiedelte Position, die auch in mehreren Beiträgen des vorliegenden Bandes andiskutiert wird und zweifellos eine systematische Weiterentwicklung auch auf theoretischer Ebene verdient. Sie ließe sich vielleicht am besten mit den beiden Begriffen ‚Aushandlung‘ und ‚Deterritorialisierung‘ fassen. Hiermit ist zum einen die Aushandlung von Bedeutungen und Sinngehalten im Übersetzungsprozess gemeint, der sowohl hermeneutisches Verstehen als auch interkulturelles Erlernen anderskultureller sprachlicher und semiotischer Systeme einschließt. Unter ‚Deterritorialisierung‘ versteht Barbara Cassin das Aufbrechen und Überschreiten geographischer, aber auch und in erster Linie sprachlicher und epistemologischer Grenzen. Sie plädiert dafür, im Übersetzen nicht Einzelphänomene (wie Begriffe und Wörter), sondern Netze und Systeme (wie Begriffsnetze oder philosophische und religiöse Denksysteme) in den Blick zu nehmen und nicht von der Begrenztheit und Geschlossenheit sprachlicher und semiotischer Welten auszugehen, sondern von ihrer unbegrenzten dynamischen Kreativität, durch die im Kulturkontakt beständig neue Elemente aufgenommen, angeeignet, übersetzt, übertragen, transformiert und neu geschaffen werden.²⁶

Eine andere, aber ähnlich gelagerte Perspektive auf diese Phänomene und Prozesse erlaubt die Transkulturalitätsforschung.²⁷ Statt Akkommodation sowie

²⁵Vgl. hierzu den Beitrag von Katja Triplett (s. Kap. 9).

²⁶Vgl. hierzu Cassin (2004), S. XXX, XVII–XXIV, hier insbesondere S. XX (zu Netzwerken und zum Begriff der ‚Déterritorialisation‘) und S. XXI (zur Hermeneutik).

²⁷Transkulturell ist ein Produkt solcher Aushandlungsprozesse, vgl. zu diesem Transkulturalitätsbegriff: Abu-Er-Rub et al. (2018); Juneja und Kravagna (2013), S. 22–33. Die Transkulturalitätsforschung, wie sie gerade am Heidelberger Exzellenzcluster ‚Asia and Europe in a Global Context‘ entwickelt wurde, ist von postkolonialer Kritik an westlichen Meistererzählungen und methodischem Nationalismus inspiriert, weitet aber den Fokus, da sich ihre Perspektive nicht auf die kolonialen und postkolonialen Phasen und Situationen beschränkt, sondern Spuren von Transkulturalisierungen überall und zu allen Zeiten untersucht, vgl. Flüchter (2015), S. 1–23.

andere Ergebnisse und Produkte interkultureller Aushandlungsprozesse als Scheitern zu verstehen, interessiert sich diese Perspektive für transkulturelle Phänomene (Texte, Konzepte, aber auch Artefakte), die durch das Überschreiten kultureller Grenzen und das Aushandeln kultureller Differenz neu entstehen. Auch die Transformationsprozesse selbst, die durch das Überschreiten kultureller Grenzen initiiert werden, kommen so deutlich in den Blick. Das Interesse der Transkulturalitätsforschung an der „dialectic between the dissolution of certain boundaries and the reaffirmation of other kinds of difference, of how de-territorialization is invariably followed by re-territorialization“, macht sie für Barbara Cassins Ideen wie auch für wichtige Denker der Translation Studies anschlussfähig.²⁸ Homi Bhabha ebenso wie Edward Said betonten, dass alle kulturellen Phänomene in der einen oder anderen Form transkulturell sind.²⁹ So plausibel diese Feststellung erscheinen mag, so beginnen damit doch erst die Fragen: Wann und wie wird etwas transkulturell, welche Faktoren, welche Politiken und Machtformationen wirken auf die Transkulturationsprozesse ein? Übersetzungen sind für diese Fragen ein besonders vielversprechendes Untersuchungsobjekt, gleichzeitig stellen die neueren Konzepte der Translation Studies ein wichtiges konzeptionelles Instrumentarium für die Untersuchung transkultureller Fragen bereit.³⁰ Gerade unter dem Oberbegriff ‚Cultural Translation‘ steht die Aushandlung kultureller Unterschiede und weniger die Frage des richtigen oder falschen Übersetzens im Mittelpunkt; statt nach einer möglichen Treue der Übersetzung zum Original zu fragen, wird Übersetzung selbst als kreatives Produkt eigenen Rechts verstanden.³¹ Gleichzeitig werden Machtfragen durch postkoloniale und postmoderne Einflüsse auf die Übersetzungswissenschaften stärker bedacht als früher. Koloniale Herrschaft nutzte so ganz konkret Übersetzungen, um ihre Macht und ihren Machtanspruch zu implementieren und zu stabilisieren; darauf wurde bereits eingegangen.³² Jenseits konkreter Herrschaft wirken aber Politik und Machtverhältnisse auch viel subtiler und mindestens ebenso wirkmächtig auf Übersetzungsprozesse ein.

Um die Mechanismen dieser Einflussnahme zu untersuchen, ist das Begriffspaar *Domestication* und *Foreignization* von Lawrence Venuti besonders vielversprechend.³³ Zunächst geht es Venuti um das alte Problem, ob eine Übersetzung das Übersetzte der Zielkultur näher bringen und anpassen soll (*Domestication*)

²⁸Vgl. Juneja und Kravagna (2013), S. 22–33, 26; vgl. Flüchter (2018), S. 199–214.

²⁹Vgl. Michaels (2018), S. 3–14.

³⁰Vgl. dazu mit weiteren Referenzen Flüchter (2018), S. 199–214.

³¹Dieses Verständnis von Übersetzung trägt und prägt auch das SPP 2130 ‚Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit‘, vgl. Toepfer et al. (2021); vgl. einführend zu den Translation Studies: Bassnett (2002); Bassnett und Lefevere (1998).

³²Vgl. hierzu nach wie vor: Cheyfitz (1991), aber auch in diesem Band der Artikel von Martina Schrader-Kniffki, Yannic Klamp und Malte Kneifel (s. Kap. 4).

³³Vgl. Venuti (2008); Yang (2010). Zur praktischen Anwendung dieser Begriffe vgl. in diesem Band v. a. den Aufsatz von Giulia Nardini (s. Kap. 8), am Rande auch bei Alberto Tiburcio und Víctor de Castro León (s. Kap. 10).

oder ob die Fremdheitsreferenz als Teil der Leseerfahrung erhalten bleiben soll (*Foreignization*). Venuti führt aus, dass die Entscheidung für eine der beiden Übersetzungsstrategien nicht nur eine Frage nach der besseren Übersetzungspraxis ist, sondern eine Frage von Machtverhältnissen. *Domestication* kann das Übersetzte geradezu in den neuen kulturellen und literarischen Kontext hereinzwingen. *Foreignization* ist aber – normativ gesprochen – nicht wirklich besser. Die ‚Bedeutungsvielfalt‘ und Interpretationsoffenheit eines ‚Originals‘ wird durch eine Übersetzung immer reduziert, wie Walter Benjamin bereits mittels der Metapher von der Übersetzung als Tangente, die den Kreis eben nur an einer Stelle berührt, verdeutlichte.³⁴ Eine Übersetzung, die der *Foreignization*-Strategie folgt, erhält somit zwar den für die Zielkultur fremden Charakter des Übersetzten, schreibt aber eben auch eine Form der Fremdreferenz fest, kodifiziert diese geradezu ebenso wie die oft darin enthaltene Wertung.³⁵ In beiden Fällen wirken kulturelle Machtbeziehungen, aber sie tun es in verschiedener Hinsicht und mit unterschiedlichen Konsequenzen. Das Begriffspaar, wie Venuti es entwickelt hat, verhilft uns also dazu, über Fragen der Unübersetzbarkeit oder falschen Übersetzung hinauszugehen und Machtbeziehungen in der Kontaktzone aufzudecken und zu untersuchen, wie kulturelle Filter ausgewählt werden und wo sich das Übersetzte durch die Übersetzung verändert hat. Venuti entwickelte seine Begriffe aus einer postkolonialen Perspektive, kritisch betrachtete er die westliche „Übermächtigung“ oder das *Othering* nicht-westlicher Texte. Das ist aber gerade in der Vormoderne zu einfach, nicht immer waren die Europäer die Mächtigeren, nicht immer waren die Machtverhältnisse eindeutig. Venutis Instrumentarium hilft also zwar zur Aufdeckung und differenzierteren Charakterisierung gegenläufiger und unterschiedlicher Machtverhältnisse. Das Paar *Foreignization* – *Domestication* gibt aber keine leichten Antworten, sondern hilft Fragen zu Machtbeziehungen zu generieren und ermöglicht, die Bedeutung von Macht und Politik bei Übersetzungsprozessen in ihrer Komplexität und teils auch Gegenläufigkeit zu greifen.

Was bedeutet es zum Beispiel, wenn Jesuiten das lateinische oder portugiesische Wort *Dios/Deus* für Gott beibehielten statt eines aus der Zielkultur zu nehmen?³⁶ Was bringt hier der Begriff der *Foreignization* für die Frage der Machtverhältnisse? Europäische Lehnworte wurden in Südamerika mit kolonialer Rückendeckung der Mission ebenso verwendet wie in Japan oder in Südindien, wo die Missionare oft weit entfernt von kolonialen Machtzentren auf sich gestellt waren.³⁷ Geht es hier um Machtstrukturen und wenn ja, um welche? Wie ist es mit

³⁴Vgl. Benjamin (1972), esp. 19–20.

³⁵Venuti (2008), S. 15.

³⁶Vgl. dazu die Aufsätze von Katja Triplett (s. Kap. 9), Martina Schrader-Kniffki, Yannic Klamp und Malte Kneifel (s. Kap. 4) und Giulia Nardini (s. Kap. 8).

³⁷Interessant ist zudem, dass oft in einer ersten Phase durchaus indigene Gottesbegriffe als Übersetzung gewählt wurden, bekannt ist hier das japanische Wort *Dainchi*. Diese Form der *Domestication* wurde aber in den meisten Missionsgebieten bald aufgegeben, wahrscheinlich weil die indigenen Lehnworte zu viele Assoziationen transportierten, die nicht in das christlich-katholische Gottesbild passten. Deshalb gingen die Missionare zu einer *foreignisierenden* Übersetzungsstrategie über und nutzten lateinische oder portugiesische Lehnworte.

der Übersetzung der Heroine aus homerischen Texten in die Hausfrau, des Gottesopfers in ein leichtfertiges Mädchen?³⁸ Versteht man dies ebenfalls als *Domestication*, ginge es um Machtstrukturen im Sinne hegemonialer patriarchalischer Geschlechterdeutungen. Der Einfluss dieser kulturellen Werte übertrumpfte dann die zu diesem Zeitpunkt eigentlich noch kaum hinterfragte Überlegenheit der Antike im Übersetzungsprozess. Auch die Anpassung von Fachbegriffen in deutschsprachigen metallurgischen Texten an den besseren französischen Stil kann als Form der *Domestication* verstanden werden und belegt dann zumindest den Anspruch kultureller Überlegenheit.³⁹ Der christliche Gott, die griechische Heldin, Metallurgie – diese Beispiele stellen uns keinen methodischen Kompass bereit, aber sie zeigen die Komplexität von Machtfaktoren und Einflussfaktoren. Systematischer betrachtet könnte hier die empirische Vielfalt langfristig zum Theoretisieren und zur transkulturellen Modifikation der Konzepte Venutis beitragen.

15.4 Historizität und Anachronismus: Übersetzungen und das Problem des Eurozentrismus

Aber nicht nur die untersuchten Akteure und Übersetzungsprozesse müssen nach Machtverhältnissen, nach Strukturen der Sag- und damit Übersetzbarkeit befragt werden. Die komplexe Zusammensetzung unseres Schwerpunktprogramms, bezogen auf die Materialität des zu Übersetzenden, aber eben auch auf die global verstreute geographische Verortung, hat immer wieder zu Diskussionen um eurozentrische und auch anachronistische Begrifflichkeiten geführt. Bei vormodernen Geschlechterrollen oder auch religiösen Deutungsmustern, bei modernen nationalistischen oder rassifizierenden Mustern des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts sehen wir die ideologische Gebundenheit manches Übersetzers oder mancher Wissenschaftlerin. In der eigenen Zeit und gar im eigenen Weltdeutungssystem ist das deutlich schwieriger. Wir als Forschende unterliegen auch Machtstrukturen, gerade diskursiven, kulturellen, sind mit spezifischen narrativen Strukturen, aber auch Wertesystemen aufgewachsen. Ihren Einfluss auf unsere Arbeit müssen wir in Zukunft vielleicht noch stärker berücksichtigen. Denn auch unsere Texte sind ja, im weiteren Verständnis, eine Übersetzung der untersuchten Phänomene für unsere Leser und in die Gegenwart.

Diese Eingebundenheit in das Hier und Jetzt kann zu eurozentrischen Verkürzungen führen. Westliche Begriffe werden da leicht zum universalen *tertium comparationis* oder zum ‚Original‘, mit dem andere Kulturen abgeglichen werden.⁴⁰ Aber nicht nur die fremden Kontexte müssen gekannt werden, auch die

³⁸Vgl. den Aufsatz von Regina Toepfer in diesem Band (s. Kap. 6).

³⁹Vgl. den Aufsatz von Caroline Mannweiler in diesem Band (s. Kap. 5).

⁴⁰Eine interessante Diskussion in diese Richtung gab es auf der Konferenz, auf der dieser Band beruht, über die Begriffe „Untertanen“ oder „subject“ für das Osmanische Reich, der sich zwischen Irena Fliter und Sonja Brentjes entspann. Im weitesten Sinn können auch Fragen der Unübersetzbarkeit von Karten, wie ihn der Aufsatz von Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann und Ekaterina Simonova-Gudzenko (s. Kap. 12) postuliert, hier eingeordnet werden.

‚eigene‘, also europäische, Frühe Neuzeit ist oft fremd genug. Zu denken ist an manche Anachronismen, die sich so leicht aus unserem heutigen Wertekanon in die Analyse einschleichen. Die Historiker*in wünscht sich manchmal eine noch konsequenteren Historisierung und Kontextualisierung. Wo ist in religiösen Kontexten von Glaube und wo von Aberglaube zu sprechen? Was bedeutet „aufgeklärt“ jenseits der konkreten Epoche und sozialen Gruppe der Aufklärer? Wie verhalten wir uns zu den erwähnten frühneuzeitlichen Geschlechterrollen? Die Verführung, beispielsweise, vormoderne Übersetzungen von Homer und die Begriffswahl für weibliche Gestalten als falsche Übersetzung des antiken Originals zu interpretieren, ist groß – auch wenn wir uns doch eigentlich von der Frage der Originaltreue verabschiedet hatten. Gleichheit ist kein transepochealer Wert. Das Ausmaß an Ungleichheit und Menschenverachtung in kolonialen Kontexten ist oft erschreckend für moderne Leser*innen, für die Menschen der europäischen Frühen Neuzeit als hierarchisierte Ordnung eher ein zentraler Wert. So deuten entsprechende Texte oft eher auf klerikale oder adlige und weniger auf europäische Überlegenheitsgefühle.⁴¹

Und man kann dies noch weiterführen: So sehr wir den inkludierenden Gebrauch des Gender-Sternchens für unsere Wissenschaftler*innen, Autor*innen und Leser*innen befürworten, muss für vergangene Zeiten und andere kulturelle Kontexte immer wieder konkret bedacht werden, ob das Gender-Sternchen die sozialen und kulturellen Phänomene angemessen beschreibt. Geschlechtervorstellungen, und zwar von *sex* wie *gender*, haben sich ja für den europäischen und westlichen Kontext im späten 18. und 19. Jahrhundert grundlegend verschoben, erst die Natur und dann die sich ausbildende Biologie haben eine zuvor nicht gekannte Definitionsmacht erhalten. Für die europäisch-christliche Vormoderne erscheint uns das Gender-Sternchen dagegen als unpassend. Zwar kannte die Vormoderne medizintheoretisch und ethnographisch Phänomene jenseits der Geschlechterdichotomie (z. B. Hermaphroditen), für den Alltag und die gelebte Praxis kann aber von einer grundlegenden kulturellen Heteronormativität ausgegangen werden.⁴² Daher haben wir den * hier nicht für unsere historischen Gegenstände verwendet. Diese Frage, ob Sternchen oder nicht, muss für eine Veröffentlichung wie unseren Band mit wissenschaftlichen Argumenten diskutiert und nicht mit moralischen Argumenten entschieden werden.

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⁴¹ Vgl. zum Phänomen der Ungleichheit im frühneuzeitlichen Kulturkontakt: Flüchter (2022).

⁴² Vgl. Rolker (2013).

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Kapitel 16

Translation Policy and the Politics of Translation—The Translation of Power Relationships: An Afterword



Antje Flüchter and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink

16.1 Politics and Power

At the conference upon which this edited volume is based, the binomial ‘policy’/‘politics’ was favoured over the term ‘power’—or at least much more clearly delineated. A number of contributions to this volume that draw implicitly on Michel Foucault’s distinction between the two dimensions of ‘power’¹ as outlined in his work on ‘the genealogy of power’ (“Généalogie du pouvoir”) show how fruitful the notion of ‘power’ can be for analysing translation processes and strategies. Foucault differentiated on the one hand between institutional power as exercised above all by the state, the Church, the judiciary, and institutional instances such as censorship authorities and publishers, and power in a relational sense, which he calls “Relations de pouvoir” (‘power relationships’).² Power in the latter sense pervades all social, cultural, economic, and political relationships and hence translation processes in all their different manifestations and forms as well. According to

translated by Nicola Morris and Melanie Newton (Tradukas GbR).

¹ See, for example, the articles by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and Ekaterina Simonova-Gudzenko (see Chap. 12) and Katja Triplett (see Chap. 9) in this volume

² See Foucault (2007).

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Foucault, these ‘power relationships’ are connected with ‘technologies of power’,³ which—in the sphere of translation, for instance—influenced translators’ identity patterns just as they had an impact on the strategies they adopted for texts and marketing. Power relationships meant, for instance, that until the late eighteenth century many female translators did not want their real names to be officially or publicly used—for example on the title pages of translated books—and even famous translators familiar to the public such as Isabelle de Charrière, the woman who translated Isaac Newton’s works into French, and Therese Huber, the wife of the German ethnologist and natural historian Georg Forster, published their translations not under their own names but under those of their husbands or else anonymously. This is connected with the lack of prestige accorded to translators in the Early Modern period, but also—and indeed primarily—with gender relationships and role models that were specific to particular cultures and epochs. Both are linked with institutional and relational power as defined by Foucault.⁴

Power relationships—in this case including those that are asymmetrical—can be found not only at the micro-level of translators and their texts, but also on the macro-level of fluctuations in the popularity of translation and the associated processes of cultural transfer. The dominant source language for translations in the Early Modern period was initially Latin, followed by Italian and Spanish, and from the late seventeenth century onwards, French. But it was not until the early decades of the eighteenth century that French replaced Latin as the most important source language for translations in Europe, subsequently followed by English and in the final decades of the eighteenth century by German, with the latter two languages successively gaining an ever stronger position on the European translation market.⁵ Cervantes’ *Don Quijote*, for example, was translated into English in 1612, almost directly after its publication in Spain, whereas in the other direction, Shakespeare’s play *Hamlet*, which appeared in England at roughly the same time, was not translated into Spanish until 1798.⁶ This situation would change fundamentally as England rose to become a global colonial power and a centre of literature and science from the 1750s onwards. The dominance of certain translation languages and the power relationships underlying them can be attributed not only to forms of cultural and political hegemony—although the connection is direct only in some instances—but also to phenomena such as social prestige and the transcultural kudos of a cultural space and its language and academic institutions. The cultural geography that Franco Moretti maps in his *Atlas of the European*

³Foucault (2007), p. 158: “[t]hese mechanisms of power, these procedures of power, must be considered as techniques, which is to say procedures that have been invented, perfected and which are endlessly developed.”

⁴See the article by Regina Toepfer in this volume (see Chap. 6).

⁵On French as a target language for translations from other languages in the Early Modern period, see, for example, Nies (2009) especially the illustration on p. 20.

⁶See Chartier (2021), p. 14.

Novel (1997/1998) notably uses the example of novel production, circulation, and reception to show how cultural transfers and translation flows reflect cultural “power relations”,⁷ i.e. the hegemony of certain models and authors. Whereas in Great Britain and France, the dominant centres of novel production in Europe between 1750 and 1850, only between 16 and 25 % of the book market for novels consisted of translations, the share in Germany and Italy rose to 45 % and in Poland, Denmark, and Russia to 70–85 %.⁸ The latter were excellent target countries for translations from other countries, especially from France and Great Britain, whose exemplary novel production shaped literary tastes throughout Europe. The boom in the asymmetrical dissemination of translations was thus accompanied by the transfer of aesthetic models that were adopted and imitated on the cultural ‘peripheries’ but at the same time adapted to local tastes and conditions—a phenomenon known as domestication, which can be observed in many different cultural fields in the Early Modern period and which we will discuss in more detail below.

With regard to processes of cultural transfer in the field of translation, cultural asymmetries determined by power are likewise manifested in the role played by certain languages as prominent ‘relay languages’. In the eighteenth century, for example, French, as the dominant language of culture and communication among social elites, often served as a ‘relay language’ for translations from Spanish and Portuguese into German, English, and Russian as well as into the Scandinavian languages. German began to assume this role from the final decades of the eighteenth century onwards, especially for translations from the Slavic languages. In the late seventeenth and eighteenth century all translations of Baltasar Gracián’s work *Oraculo manual y Arte de Prudencia* (1647, ‘The Pocket Oracle and Art of Prudence’)—which was read throughout Europe—into other European languages (German, Italian, English, Dutch, Latin) were based exclusively on the French translation. Significantly, it was not the original Spanish title but the French one, *L’Homme de Cour* (‘The Man of the Court’) that was used for translations into other languages, endowing the work with a whole new dimension of meaning.⁹

Various aspects of the second dimension of the notion of ‘power’ as defined by Foucault and its implementation as concrete politics and in the exercise of power must likewise be taken into account as factors influencing translation processes. But how should we comprehend the term politics here? The modern history of culture has replaced the simple definitions of power as understood by Max Weber with a more complex and more dialectic concept,¹⁰ often interpreting it as

⁷ Moretti (1998), p. 187.

⁸ See Moretti (1998), p. 152, illustration showing “Percentage of foreign novels in European literatures (1750–1850)”.

⁹ For more detail on this example see Chartier (2021), pp. 76–80.

¹⁰ Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, for example, defined the political sphere as the ‘negotiation space in which collectively binding decisions are produced and implemented’ [Transl. Tradukas], Stollberg-Rilinger (2005), pp. 9–24, here pp. 13–14.

processes of negotiation or conflicts about interpretation.¹¹ In the broadest sense, governance and political processes can likewise be understood as translation; after all, decisions taken by the authorities have to be translated for the population, and subjects themselves then translate the laws made by the authorities and in the process appropriate them. But these forms of politics and policy also had a direct impact on translations, perhaps regimenting them in a specific way, or at least trying to do so.¹² This topic was addressed in many contributions to our conference as well as in the articles published here.¹³ Obvious forms of influence, such as censorship and lists of books that were frowned upon, are easier to identify than the role that politics played in the economic aspect of any translation. The interrelationships between policymakers/politicians and publishers need to be examined in more detail.¹⁴

16.2 Materialities and Types of Text

Translations, which are analysed in this volume in terms of power structures and cultural filters, manifest themselves in a wide variety of materialities of communication and in highly diverse medialities and text types. As can be observed in the articles presented here, the terms ‘text’ and ‘translation’ are understood in a semiotic sense, in other words, they include all potential kinds of signs and codes. The spectrum of texts and processes embraced by this ranges, on the one hand, from translations as a phenomenon of everyday oral communication¹⁵ to the translation of highly codified and ritualized diplomatic negotiations and receptions,¹⁶ and on the other, translations as cultural artefacts in the semiotic sense, as illustrated by the contributions to this collection. These may include printed texts as well

¹¹ Models of interactive and dialectical rule and state-building were discussed by historians above all around the turn of the millennium, see Landwehr (2000), pp. 47–70; Brakensiek and Wunder (2005).

¹² Peter Burke speaks in this manner of a translation policy of the post-Reformation Catholic Church, “Übersetzungspolitik der gegenreformatorischen Kirche”, Burke (2007), pp. 7–38, here p. 16; Avraham Siluk followed a similar line of argument in his commentary on Katja Triplett (see Chap. 9).

¹³ See also the explanations in the introduction to this volume; Spain as a colonial power likewise influenced translation practices in jurisprudence and evangelization, just as the Japanese authorities sought to completely outlaw Jesuit missionizing and hence translations as well. Elena Parina examines important aspects of this with respect to confessional translation policies in England and Wales (see Chap. 7).

¹⁴ Helge Perplies undertakes some important approaches to this topic in this volume (see Chap. 3).

¹⁵ “Translation as a normal form of communication”, as Sonja Brentjens formulated it during a discussion at the conference.

¹⁶ Burschel and Vogel (2014).

as manuscripts, images, sculptures, musical compositions, architecture, and geographical maps.¹⁷ Only some of these artefacts—mainly texts—explicitly carry the paratextual designation “translation”, “Übersetzung”, or “traduction”, sometimes followed by the name of the translator and in many cases supplemented by additions such as “frei übersetzt nach”, “adapté de”, or “revised, corrected and enlarged”.¹⁸

A semiotic notion of translation hence directs our attention to theoretical concepts and associated processes that the contributions in this volume—no doubt owing to very different scholarly traditions, among other things—scarcely touch on, if at all: in particular, the theoretical notions and concepts of transposition, reception, adaptation, (cultural) transfer, intertextuality, paratextuality, ‘rewriting’, and heterolinguisms, which concern processes of textual transformation and in many cases translation too. Depending on the design of the study, these theoretical concepts, each of which is associated with methodological processes of analysis, are assigned a different status. They suggest systematically linking at least some of the translation processes mentioned in the spectrum above with types of text that are not translations in the true sense of the word, but are structurally connected with translation: reviews, for example, are a category of text that also generally embrace translation sequences in the narrower sense when applied to artefacts from foreign cultures, alongside elucidations and forms of annotated cultural appropriation (domestication). The quite different semantic content of the notion of ‘translation’ in the Early Modern period suggests that with regard to translation processes in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries it is appropriate to systematically link the textual processes of transmission (into a foreign language), annotation, and elucidation. According to Roger Chartier, the Spanish word “trasladar”, for example, (as defined in *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* from 1611) means not only ‘to bring from one place to another’ but also ‘to transmit linguistically’, ‘to interpret’, and ‘to copy’.¹⁹

Indeed, intertextual and intermedial references, i.e. explicit or implicit references to other texts and media, which are often in a foreign language, frequently include translation processes that are in many cases embedded in annotations and explanations.²⁰ Numerous translations in the semiotic sense of the term link different sorts of texts and materialities of communication: text and

¹⁷In this volume, see Alberto Tiburcio and Víctor de Castro León (see Chap. 10), Katja Triplett (see Chap. 9), Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and Ekaterina Simonova-Gudzenko (see Chap. 12), and Christina Strunck (see Chap. 14).

¹⁸This was the subheading of the English translation of the *Grand Dictionnaire historique* (1674) by Louis Moréri, first published in English translation in London in 1688 under the title *The Great Historical, Geographical, Genealogical and Poetical Dictionary*.

¹⁹Chartier (2021), p. 50.

²⁰On the relationship between translation, cultural transfer, and intertextuality see the contributions in Jørgensen and Lüsebrink (2021), pp. 1–20; also Lüsebrink (2016), Chap. 4 (“Kulturtransfer”).

image,²¹ printed texts and song sheets, orality and textuality, cartographic representation, and printed commentaries. In order to analyse them, over the past few decades researchers into intermediality have developed a highly differentiated set of methodological instruments, but one that has been little used outside the field of cultural studies.²² Materialities of communication play an important but frequently neglected role in translation processes. They include phenomena such as the format, font, paper quality, typography, cover, illustrations, vignettes, and graphic design of texts, and their significance has been impressively demonstrated in pioneering publications by the book historians Donald McKenzie and Roger Chartier.²³ The decision taken by state and Church authorities but also by publishers about whether a translated work should be circulated only as a manuscript or as a printed book, whether it should be published in folio volumes or in a handy duodecimal format, whether it should include copperplate engravings, or whether it should bear a dedication to the authorities changed its reception as well as its potential circulation and in many respects its fundamentally semantic content.

16.3 Translation as a Contact Zone

Translations often constitute cultural—or more precisely, intercultural—processes of negotiation involving actors of different languages and cultures. Not only translators with their personal and professional networks but also state and religious institutions as clients and initiators seek to steer and shape the form, content, structure, and reception of translations in order to achieve their successful dissemination and reception. Translations of religious texts in missionary contexts provide excellent examples of this.²⁴ Alongside successful translations, which are often characterized by forms of cultural ‘accommodation’ or rather the intercultural adaptation of linguistic registers, religious images, and patterns of thinking (which even went as far as omitting important religious elements such as references to the suffering and death of Christ in the Japanese translations of Jesuit missionary texts²⁵), phenomena and processes of intercultural failure can be equally revealing. These can be caused by non-reception, cultural resistance, misunderstandings and the act of misunderstanding, errors of judgement, and the inability to adequately negotiate translations with respect to the expectations of the target culture. Phenomena of failed translations are often explained using the term ‘un-translatability’, which Barbara Cassin fundamentally calls into question in her

²¹ See the contribution by Helge Perplies in this volume (Chap. 3).

²² See *inter alia* the fundamental work by Rajewski (2002).

²³ See Chartier (2021); McKenzie (1986); McDonald and McKenzie (2002).

²⁴ See the contributions by Martina Schrader-Kniffki, Yannic Klamp, and Malte Kneifel (Chap. 4), and Giulia Nardini (Chap. 8) in this volume.

²⁵ See the contribution by Katja Triplett (Chap. 9).

Vocabulaire européen des philosophies: Dictionnaire des intraduisibles. In terms of the philosophy of language, the question of ‘untranslatability’ is situated between the position of logical universalism—represented in the seventeenth century by the grammarians of the Port-Royal school, in the eighteenth century by the philologist and encyclopaedist Nicolas Beauzée among others, and in the twentieth century by Noam Chomsky’s theory of transformational grammar and by the linguistic philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein—and an ‘ontological nationalism’ based on the radical singularity of language and semiotic systems, which references the ideas of philosophers such as Johann Gottfried Herder. Barbara Cassin and the contributors to her *Vocabulaire européen des intraduisibles* represent a position that goes beyond these two antagonistic poles. It is discussed in several contributions to this volume and is certainly worthy of systematic further exploration on the theoretical level. It is perhaps best captured by the terms ‘negotiation’ and ‘de-territorialization’. Negotiation refers to the negotiation of meanings and semantic content in the process of translation, which includes both hermeneutic understanding and the intercultural learning of linguistic and semiotic systems from other cultures. Barbara Cassin understands ‘de-territorialization’ as breaking open and transcending geographical as well as—and indeed primarily—linguistic and epistemological boundaries. When translating she advocates focusing not only on individual phenomena (such as terms and words), but also on networks and systems (such as conceptual networks or systems of philosophical or religious thought), and rather than proceeding from the limitations and cohesion of linguistic and semiotic worlds, one should start with their unrestricted dynamic creativity which enables new elements to constantly be adopted, appropriated, translated, transmitted, transformed, and newly created by means of contact between cultures.²⁶

Transculturality research allows a different but similar perspective on these phenomena and processes.²⁷ Instead of understanding accommodation and other outcomes and products of intercultural negotiation processes as failures, this perspective is interested in transcultural phenomena (texts, concepts, but also artefacts) which are newly generated by transcending cultural boundaries and negotiating cultural difference. This then allows a clear focus on the transformation processes themselves, which are initiated by transcending cultural boundaries. The interest of transculturality research in the “dialectic between the dissolution of certain boundaries and the reaffirmation of other kinds of difference, of how de-territorialization is invariably followed by re-territorialization”, makes it

²⁶ See Cassin (2004), pp. XXX, XVII–XXIV, here especially p. XX (on networks and on the notion of ‘Déterritorialisation’) and p. XXI (on hermeneutics).

²⁷ Transcultural is a product of such negotiation processes. On the concept of transculturality see Abu-Er-Rub et al. (2018); Juneja and Kravagna (2013), pp. 22–33. Transculturality research, as it has recently been developed in the Heidelberg excellence cluster ‘Asia and Europe in a Global Context’, is inspired by postcolonial criticism of Western master narratives and methodological nationalism, but its focus is broader since its perspective is not limited to colonial and postcolonial phases and situations but instead investigates traces of transculturalization everywhere and across all epochs. See Flüchter (2015), pp. 1–23.

compatible both with Barbara Cassin's ideas and with those of important thinkers in translation studies.²⁸ Both Homi Bhabha and Edward Said emphasized that all cultural phenomena are transcultural in one form or other.²⁹ While this assertion seems eminently plausible, it does raise several questions: When and how does something become transcultural? Which factors, which policies and power formations have an impact on transculturation processes? Translations are a highly promising object of study when it comes to addressing these questions. At the same time, more recent concepts in translation studies supply an important set of conceptual tools for investigating transcultural issues.³⁰ The central focus of the umbrella term 'cultural translation' is more about the negotiation of cultural differences than the question of right or wrong translation; instead of asking how faithful a translation is to the original, the translation itself is understood as a creative product in its own right.³¹ At the same time, postcolonial and postmodern influences on translation studies mean that questions of power receive more attention than they did previously. Colonial rulers specifically used translations to implement and stabilize their power and their pretensions to power, as has already been discussed.³² But beyond specific forms of governance, politics and power relationships also have a much more subtle and at least as potent effect on translation processes.

In order to investigate the mechanisms of influence, the conceptual pair of domestication and foreignization coined by Lawrence Venuti is particularly promising.³³ Venuti starts by addressing the old problem of whether a translation should make the translated material more accessible and adapt it to the target culture (domestication) or whether the reference to foreignness should be preserved and form part of the reading experience (foreignization). Venuti argues that the decision to follow one or the other translation strategy is not simply a question of better translation practice, but also a question of power relationships. Domestication can more or less force the translated material into a new cultural and literary context. But in normative terms, foreignization is not really any better. The 'diversity of meaning' and openness to interpretation of an 'original' is always reduced by a translation, as Walter Benjamin asserted, illustrating his point with the metaphor of translation as a tangent that touches a circle at only one point.³⁴ A translation that follows the foreignization strategy preserves that which is alien or 'other' about the

²⁸ See Juneja and Kravagna (2013), pp. 22–33, here p. 26; see Flüchter (2018), pp. 199–214.

²⁹ See Michaels (2018), pp. 3–14.

³⁰ See Flüchter (2018) for further references, pp. 199–214.

³¹ This understanding of translation also carries and shapes SPP 2130's 'Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit', see Toepfer et al. (2021); as an introduction to translation studies: see Bassnett (2002); Bassnett and Lefevere (1998).

³² Here Cheyfitz (1991) continues to be relevant, but also the article in this volume by Martina Schrader-Kniffki, Yannic Klamp, and Malte Kneifel (see Chap. 4).

³³ See Venuti (2008); Yang (2010). On the practical application of these terms, see above all the article by Giulia Nardini (see Chap. 8) in this volume as well as more tangentially the contributions of Alberto Tiburcio and Víctor de Castro León (see Chap. 10).

³⁴ See Benjamin (1972), pp. 9–21, here pp. 19–20.

original material for the target culture, but at the same time enshrines a foreign frame of reference and codifies it in the same way that inherent judgement does.³⁵ In both cases cultural power relationships are at work, but they work in different respects and with different consequences. The conceptual pair coined by Venuti thus helps us to go beyond questions of untranslatability or wrong translation in order to reveal and investigate power relationships in the contact zone and to examine how cultural filters are chosen and where the original is changed by the translation. Venuti developed his notions from a postcolonial perspective, taking a critical view of Western “overpowering” or Othering of non-Western texts. But particularly in the pre-modern age this perspective is too simple, for the Europeans were not always the more powerful force, and power relationships were not always unambiguous. Venuti’s apparatus thus helps us to uncover and characterize contrary and diverse power relationships in a differentiated manner. The conceptual pair foreignization and domestication do not provide easy answers. Rather they help to generate questions about power relationships and enable us to understand the significance, complexity, and in some cases contrary nature of power and politics in translation processes.

What does it mean, for example, if Jesuits retain the Latin or Portuguese word for God—*Dios/Deus*—instead of using the word from the target culture?³⁶ What light does the term foreignization throw on the question of power relationships? Borrowed European words were used both in South America with the colonial support of missionaries and in Japan or in Southern India, where missionaries were often left to their own devices far away from colonial centres of power.³⁷ Is this a question of power structures, and if so, which ones? And what about the heroine of Homer’s texts being translated into a housewife, and the sacrificial victim of a god into a frivolous girl?³⁸ Are these examples likewise to be understood as domestication? Are they about power structures in the sense of hegemonial patriarchal gender constructs? In the process of translation the influence of these cultural values trumped the dominance of Antiquity, which at that time had scarcely been questioned. Adapting technical terminology in German-language texts about metallurgy to the superior French style can also be regarded as a form of domestication and as such attests at the very least to France’s claim to cultural

³⁵Venuti (2008), p. 15.

³⁶See the contributions by Katja Triplett (Chap. 9), Martina Schrader-Kniffki, Yannic Klamp, and Malte Kneifel (Chap. 4), and Giulia Nardini (Chap. 8).

³⁷It is also interesting that in a first phase the translator does in fact often choose Indigenous words for God; we know, for example, of instances where the Japanese word *Dainch* is used. However, this form of domestication was soon discontinued in most areas where missionaries were active, probably because the borrowed Indigenous words transported too many associations that did not fit in with the Christian/Catholic image of God. This was the reason why the missionaries switched to a translation strategy of foreignization and instead used borrowed Latin or Portuguese words.

³⁸See the contribution by Regina Toepfer in this volume (Chap. 6).

superiority.³⁹ The Christian God, the Greek heroine, metallurgy—these examples do not provide us with a methodological compass, but they do demonstrate the complexity of the factors affecting power and influence. Were it to be investigated more systematically, the empirical diversity evident here could eventually contribute to a theoretical and transcultural modification of Venuti's concepts.

16.4 Historicity and Anachronism: Translations and the Problem of Eurocentrism

However, we need to look at the actors and translation processes under investigation here not only in terms of power relationships but also in terms of what can be said and hence of translatability structures. Both in terms of the materiality of the object of translation and the globally dispersed geographical localization, the complex composition of our priority programme repeatedly led to discussions about Eurocentric and anachronistic terminology. We can discern the ideological restrictions to which some translators and scholars were subject in pre-modern gender roles, in models for religious interpretation, and in modern nationalist or racist prototypes of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In our own time and even in our own system for interpreting the world this is much more difficult. We as researchers are also subject to power structures, especially discursive and cultural ones, and we have grown up with specific narrative structures and value systems. In the future we should perhaps pay more attention to the influence they have on our work, for in a broader sense our texts are likewise a translation of the phenomena being investigated for our readers and a translation of the past into the present.

Being embedded in the here and now in this manner can lead to Eurocentric reductionism. Western notions can easily come to be seen as a universal *tertium comparationis* or as an 'original' with which other cultures can be compared.⁴⁰ But this requires not just familiarity with foreign contexts, for our 'own' European Early Modern period often feels alien enough. Here, certain anachronisms spring to mind that so easily creep into our analysis from today's canon of values. Historians sometimes wish for an even more consistent historicization and contextualization. In religious contexts, for instance, where can we speak of faith and where of superstition? What does "enlightened" mean above and beyond that specific historical epoch and the social group of enlighteners? How should we approach

³⁹ See the contribution by Caroline Mannweiler in this volume (Chap. 5).

⁴⁰ There was an interesting discussion on this point at the conference on which this volume is based between Irena Fliter and Sonja Brentjes. It revolved around the use of the term "subject" (or *Untertan* in German) in the Ottoman Empire. In the broadest sense the question of the untranslatability of maps, as postulated in the article by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and Ekaterina Simonova-Gudzenko (see Chap. 12), also fits in here.

the Early Modern gender roles already mentioned? There is a great temptation to interpret pre-modern translations of Homer and the choice of terminology for female figures as a wrong translation of the Antique original—even if we have in fact discarded the question of whether a translation is faithful to the original. Equality is not a trans-epochal value. The degree of inequality and inhumanity in colonial contexts is often shocking for modern readers, yet for those who lived in Europe in the hierarchical order of the Early Modern period it was a core value. Texts of this period often construe this sense of superiority as clerical or aristocratic rather than European.⁴¹

And we can take this further: however much we advocate the use of the ‘gender star’ in German (signalling that all genders are equally visible) as a form of inclusive language by our researchers, authors, and readers, we must always consider whether it is appropriate for describing the social and cultural phenomena of past epochs and other cultural contexts. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, ideas about both sex and gender fundamentally shifted in the European and Western context; first nature and then the evolving discipline of biology acquired a previously unknown defining power. Thus it seems inappropriate to us to use the gender star when referring to the European/Christian pre-modern age. While medical and ethnographic phenomena that went beyond the dichotomy of two sexes were certainly familiar in the pre-modern age (e.g. ‘hermaphrodites’), in practice we can assume that heterosexuality was the fundamental cultural norm in everyday life.⁴² We therefore decided not to use the star for our historical research objects. For a publication like the present volume, the question of whether to use the star needs to be discussed on the basis of scientific arguments, not moral ones.

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⁴¹ On the phenomenon of inequality in Early Modern cultural contact, see Flüchter (2022).

⁴² See Rolker (2013).

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